

C. CORNELII TACITI

OPERA.

VOL. II.

C. CORNELII TACITI

OPERA:

FROM THE TEXT OF BROTIER;

WITH

HIS EXPLANATORY NOTES,

AS EDITED BY

A. J. VALPY, M.A.

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C. CORNELII TACITI

ANNALES.

LIBER DUODECIMUS.

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These transactions passed in six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
802	49	Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.
803	50	Caius Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervilianus.
804	51	Claudius, 5th time, S. Cornelius Orphitus.
805	52	P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.
806	53	Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.
807	54	Marcus Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.

1. [A.U.C. 801. J.C. 48.] CÆDE Messalinæ convulsa Principis domus, orto apud libertos certamine, quis deligeret uxorem Claudio, cœlibis vitæ intoleranti,[a] et conju-

[a] *Intoleranti*] This is illustrated by Suet. Claud. 26. After the death of Messalina, Claudius 'confirmavit pro *concione apud* prætorianos, quatenus *sibi matrimonia male* cederent, permansurum se in cœlibatu; ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum confodi manibus ipsorum. Nec durare valuit quin de conditionibus continuo tractaret, etiam de Petinæ, quam olim exe-

gum imperiis obnoxio. Nec minore ambitu fœminæ exarserant; suam quæque nobilitatem, formam, opes contendere, ac digna tanto matrimonio ostentare. Sed maxime ambigebatur inter Lolliam Paullinam,[b] M. Lollii consularis filiam, et Juliam Agrippinam,[c] Germanico genitam: huic Pallas, illi Callistus, fautores aderant: at Ælia Petina,[d] e familia Tuberonum, Narcisso fovebatur. Ipse modo huc, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium audierat, promtus, discordantes in consilium vocat, ac 'promere sententiam, et adjicere rationes' jubet.

2. Narcissus 'vetus matrimonium, familiam communem,' (nam Antonia[e] ex Petina erat) 'nihil in penatibus ejus novum,' disserebat, 'si sueta conjux rediret, haudquaquam novercalibus odiis usura in Britannicum et Octaviam,[f] proxima suis pignora.' Callistus 'improbatam longo discidio, ac si rursus adsumeretur, eo ipso superbam; longeque rectius Lolliam induci, quando nullos liberos genuisset, vacuam æmulatione, et privignis[g] parentis loco futuram.' At Pallas id maxime in Agrippina laudare, quod 'Germanici nepotem[h] secum traheret, dignum prorsus imperatoria fortuna; stirpem nobilem, et familiæ Claudiæ quæ posteros conjungeret;[i] nec fœmina,[k] expertæ fœcunditatis, integra juventa, claritudinem Cæsarum aliam in domum ferret.'

3. Prævaluere hæc, adjuta Agrippinæ inlecebris; quæ

gerat, deque Lolliæ Paullinæ, quæ Caio Cæsari nupta fuerat. Verum illecebris Agrippinæ, Germanici fratris sui filiæ, per jus osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu, qui censeret cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi reipublicæ maxime interesset: dandamque ceteris veniam talium conjugiorum, quæ ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die, confecit nuptias: non repertis, qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam, et altero primipilari, cujus officium nuptiarum et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.' This is a long extract, but it was necessary to give us an insight into the manners of the emperor and the age.

[b] *Lolliam Paullinam*] For her and her immense wealth, see St. C. 89.

[c] *Juliam Agrippinam*] Mother of Nero. St. C. 93.

[d] *Ælia Petina*] Formerly married to Claudius, but divorced for light causes of offence. St. C. 104.

[e] *Antonia*] Daughter of Claudius and Ælia Petina. St. C. 105.

[f] *Britannicum et Octaviam*] Born of Claudius and Messalina. St. C. 108. 36.

[g] *Et privignis*] Antonia, Britannicus, and Octavia.

[h] *Germanici nepotem*] Nero, afterwards emperor. St. C. 35.

[i] *Posteros conjungeret*] The children of Claudius, Antonia, Britannicus, and Octavia, the posterity of the Claudian family, were united with the son of Agrippina; nor did the greatness of the Cæsars pass into another family.

[k] *Fœmina*] Agrippina.

ad eum per speciem necessitudinis crebro ventitando, pellicit patruum,[l] ut prælata ceteris, et nondum uxor, potentia uxoria jam uteretur. Nam ubi sui matrimonii certa fuit, struere majora, nuptiasque Domitii,[m] quem ex Cn. Ahenobarbo genuerat, et Octaviæ, Cæsaris filiæ, moliri: quod sine scelere perpetrari non poterat, quia L. Silano desponderat Octaviam Cæsar; juvenemque et alia clarum,[n] insigni triumphalium et gladiatorii muneris magnificentia, protulerat ad studia vulgi. Sed nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis,[o] cui non judicium, non odium erat, nisi indita et jussa.

4. Igitur Vitellius, nomine censoris[p] serviles fallacias obtegens, ingruentiumque dominationum provisor, quo gratiam Agrippinæ pararet, consiliis ejus implicari, serere crimina in Silanum, cui sane decora et procax soror, Junia Calvina,[q] haud multum ante Vitellii nurus fuerat: hinc initium accusationis, fratrumque non incestum, sed incustoditum[r] amorem ad infamiam traxit: et præbebat

[l] *Patruum*] Claudius, brother of Germanicus, uncle of Agrippina. St. C. 100.

[m] *Nuptiasque Domitii*] Of Domitius Nero, afterwards emperor, son of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina. See St. C. 35. On coins and inscriptions is recorded CN. DOMITIVS AHENOBARBVS. For the reason of the cognomen, see Suet. Ner. 1.

[n] *Alia clarum*] On the renown of Silanus we find much in Dio, lx, p. 686. *ὁ Σιλανὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομίζετο· οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο ὥστε καὶ ἐπινικίους τιμὰς ἐν παισὶ λαβεῖν· τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ὀκταουΐαν ἐγγυήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου στρατηγῆσαι· τήν τε πανήγυριν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκείνου τέλεσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ αἰτῆσαί τινα παρ' αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ τινὰ στασιάρχην, καὶ ἐκβοῆσαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους βουλομένους ἑώρα*: 'Silanus was considered an excellent man, and Claudius held him in such esteem, that he gave triumphal ornaments to him even in his youth, and betrothed to him his daughter Octavia; and having been made pretor long before the proper time in law, he gave the *accustomed shows* of gladiators at *Claudius's expense*; during which Claudius impeached him as the leader of a sedition, and uttered with a loud voice what he perceived that others desired.' See also St. C. 60.

[o] *In animo principis*] Of Claudius, a dull and uxorious prince.

[p] *Nomine censoris*] L. Vitellius was made the year before colleague with the emperor Claudius in the censorship. The slavish disposition of Vitellius, the art of Tacitus in disclosing vice, and the Roman manners of this age, we may learn from Suet. Vitell. 2. 3. L. Vitellius, 'miri in adulando ingenii, primus Caium Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit—Claudium, uxoribus libertisque addictum, ne qua non arte demereretur, pro maximo munere a Messalina petiit, ut sibi pedes præberet excalceandos; detractumque socculum dextrum inter togam tunicasque gestavit assidue, nonnumquam osculabundus. Narcissi quoque et Pallantis imagines aureas inter Lares coluit—Defunctum senatus publico funere honoravit: item statua pro rostris, cum hac inscriptione: Pietatis immobilis erga Principem.'

[q] *Junia Calvina*] Sister of L. Silanus. St. C. 62.

[r] *Sed incustoditum*] Between Silanus and Calvina there was not an inces-

Cæsar aures, accipiendis adversum generum suspicionibus caritate filiæ promtior.[s] At Silanus, insidiarum nescius, ac forte eo anno prætor, repente per edictum Vitellii[t] ordine senatorio movetur, quamquam lecto pridem senatu, lustroque condito:[u] simul adfinitatem Claudius diremit, adactusque Silanus ejurare magistratum, et reliquus præturæ dies[v] in Eprium Marcellum collatus est.

5. [A.U.C. 802. J.C. 49.] C. Pompeio, Q. Veranio consulibus,[x] pactum inter Claudium et Agrippinam matrimonium. Jam fama, jam amore inlicito firmabatur, necdum celebrare solemnia nuptiarum audebant, nullo exemplo[y] deductæ in domum patrui fratris filiæ. Quin et incestum, ac, si sperneretur, ne in malum publicum erumperet, metuebatur: nec ante omissa cunctatio, quam Vitellius suis artibus id perpetrandum sumsit: percunctatusque Cæsarem, 'an jussis populi, an auctoritati senatus cederet?' ubi ille 'unum se civium, et consensui imparem'[z] respondit, 'opperiri intra palatium' jubet: ipse curiam ingreditur, summamque rempublicam agi obtestans, veniam dicendi ante alios exposcit, orditurque: 'Gravissimos Principis labores, queis orbem terræ capessat, egere adminiculis, ut, domestica cura vacuus, in commune consulat: quod porro honestius censoriæ mentis[a]

tuous, but only an unguarded and incautious love. Hence Seneca, in Ludo de Morte Claudii: 'L. Silanum generum suum occidit [Claudius]. Oro propter quid? sororem suam, festivissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent, maluit Junonem vocare. Quare? inquit: quero enim, sororem suam stulte studere!' The name of Juno was turned into a charge, as if Calvina, equally as the goddess, was at the same time his sister and his wife.

[s] *Promtior*] The more ready to receive suspicions against his son-in-law Silanus, as he loved his daughter, Octavia, betrothed to him.

[t] *Edictum Vitellii*] By the power belonging to the censors.

[u] *Lustroque condito*] See A. xi, 25.

[v] *Reliquus—dies*] On the 4th kalends of January Silanus retired from the pretorship. Only four days therefore remained. See Suet. Claud. 29.

[x] *Q. Veranio coss.*] C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus and Q. Veranius were consuls A.U.C. 802. J.C. 49. In an old Inscr. in Muratori, Thes. Inscr. vol. i, p. 305. Q. VERANIO. A. POMPEIO GALLO COSS. Whence Perhaps Aulus, and not Caius, was the prænomen of Pompey.

[y] *Nullo exemplo*] They did not dare to celebrate the nuptials; first, because among the Romans there was no example of a brother's daughter married to an uncle; secondly, because such matches were esteemed 'ad id tempus incesta,' Suet. Claud. 26; thirdly, lest it should end in public evil and the ruin of morals.

[z] *Consensui imparem*] That he was only one of the people, and that he could not resist the general opinion. In Ms. Reg. and Ed. Puteol. *consensu*.

[a] *Censoriæ mentis*] Claudius was censor, as was said above.

levamen, quam adsumere conjugem, prosperis dubiisque sociam? cui cogitationes intimas, cui parvos liberos tradat; non luxui aut voluptatibus adsuefactus, sed qui prima ab juventa legibus obtemperavisset.'

6. Postquam hæc favorabili oratione præmisit, multaque patrum assentatio sequebatur; capto rursus initio, 'Quando maritandum Principem cuncti suaderent, deligi oportere fœminam nobilitate, puerperiis, sanctimonia insignem. Nec diu anquirendum, quin Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret: datum ab ea fœcunditatis experimentum; et congruere artes honestas. Id vero egregium, quod, provisu Deum, vidua[b] jungeretur Principi, sua tantum matrimonia experto: audivisse a parentibus, vidisse ipsos, arripi conjuges ad libita Cæsarum:[c] procul id a præsenti modestia: statueretur immo documentum, quo uxorem[d] Imperator acciperet. At enim nova nobis in fratrum filias conjugia: sed aliis gentibus[e] solennia, neque lege ulla prohibita: et sobrinarum[f] diu ignorata, tempore addito percrebuisse: morem accommodari prout conducat; et fore hoc quoque in his, quæ mox usurpentur.'

7. Haud defuere qui certatim, 'si cunctaretur Cæsar, vi acturos' testificantes, erumperent curia. Conglobatur promiscua multitudo, 'populumque Romanum eadem rogare' clamitat. Nec Claudius ultra expectato, obvium apud forum præbet se gratantibus; senatumque ingressus, 'decretum postulat,[g] quo justæ inter patruos fratrumque filias nuptiæ etiam in posterum statuerentur.' Neque

[b] *Vidua*] Agrippina was then a widow: she had before married Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and afterwards Passienus Crispus. St. C. 34. 93. 94.

[c] *Ad libita Cæsarum*] Augustus had erred in that, and particularly Caius Caligula.

[d] *Quo uxorem*] Agrippina.

[e] *Aliis gentibus*] Athenian and Jewish. See Grot. de Jure Belli et Pac. ii, 5. n. 14.

[f] *Sobrinarum*] i.e. 'consobrinarum.' These words, which are distinguished by the lawyers, are promiscuously used by the best writers, as is observed by the grammarians. That as far back as before A.U.C. 583. marriages were usual, even in the case of men of moderate rank, with their cousins, is clear from the speech of Ligustinus in Liv. xlii, 34. 'Sp. Ligustinus, tribus Crustuminæ ex Sabinis sum oriundus, Quirites. Pater mihi jugerum agri reliquit, et parvum tugurium, in quo natus educatusque sum; hodieque ibi habito. Cum primum in ætatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit, quæ secum nihil attulit præter libertatem pudicitiamque, et cum his fœcunditatem, quanta vel in diti domo satis esset.'

[g] *Decretum postulat*] In virtue of this decree the daughter of his brother Titus was offered in marriage to Domitian, as we learn from Suet. Domit. 22. It was abrogated by Nerva: Dio, lxviii, p. 770. ἐνομοθέτησε — μήτε

tamen repertus est, nisi unus[h] talis matrimonii cupitor, T. Alledius Severus, eques Romanus, quem plerique 'Agrippinæ gratia impulsum' ferebant. Versa ex eo civitas, et cuncta fœminæ obediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalinæ, rebus Romanis inludenti. Adductum,[i] et quasi virile, servitium: palam severitas, ac sæpius superbia: nihil domi impudicum, nisi dominationi[k] expediret: cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat, quasi subsidium regno pararetur.

8. Die nuptiarum[l] Silanus sibi mortem conscivit: sive eo usque spem vitæ produxerat; seu delecto die, augendam ad invidiam. Calvina, soror ejus, Italia pulsa est. Addidit Claudius, 'sacra ex legibus Tulli[m] regis, piaculaque apud lucum Dianæ[n] per pontifices danda:' inridentibus cunctis,[o] quod pœnæ procurationesque[p] incesti id temporis exquirerentur. At Agrippina, ne malis tantum facinoribus notesceret, veniam exilii pro Annæo Seneca, simul præturam impetrat, lætum in publicum rata, ob claritudinem studiorum ejus; utque Domitii[q] pueritia tali magistro adolesceret, et consiliis ejusdem ad spem

ἀδελφιδῆν γαμεῖν. But, as the opinions of the civilians are different about this law, I refer the reader to the obss. of Reimar on this passage of Dio.

[h] *Nisi unus*] Suet. Claud. 26. says that there were two. Perhaps Tacitus did not think it worth while to mention the son of the freedman mentioned by Suetonius.

[i] *Adductum*] The servitude was severe, and as hard as if a man had been at the head of affairs. *Adductum* for 'grave,' 'austerum,' is so used also in A. xiv, 4. and by Suet. Tib. 68. Tiberius is said 'adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus.'

[k] *Nisi dominationi*] Of Agrippina. She veiled her immense desire for money by the plea of necessary support of the government.

[l] *Die nuptiarum*] Suet. Claud. 29. Silanus 'abdicare se prætura ante quartum Kalendas Januarias, morique initio anni coactus, die ipso Claudii et Agrippinæ nuptiarum.'

[m] *Ex—Tulli*] These rights and expiations seem to be the same with those, by which Horatius expiated the death of his sister in Liv. i, 26. 'Ut cædes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quæ deinde genti Horatiæ tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum misit juvenem.' For these rites see Dion. Hal. iii, p. 159, 160.

[n] *Lucum Dianæ*] Plin. xvi, 44. 'Est in suburbano Tusculani agri, [Frascati,] colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dianæ sacratus a Latio.'

[o] *Inridentibus cunctis*] Who would not laugh at the emperor at the same time committing and expiating crimes?

[p] *Procurationesque*] i. e. punishments and expiations. Amelot de la Houssaie contends that they are to be understood in relation to the decree of the senate, by which marriages between uncles and brothers' daughters were made valid. But *procuratio* is not used in this sense: it is said of expiations. So Cic. de Div. i, 45. 'Ut sue plena procuratio fieret.'

[q] *Domitii*] Nero.

dominationis uterentur: quia Seneca fidus in Agrippinam, memoria beneficii, et infensus Claudio, dolore injuriæ,[r] credebatur.

9. Placitum dehinc non ultra cunctari: sed designatum consulem, Memmium Pollionem,[s] ingentibus promissis inducit, sententiam expromere, qua oraretur Claudius, 'despondere Octaviam Domitio:' quod ætati utriusque non absurdum, et majora patefacturum erat. Pollio haud disparibus verbis, ac nuper Vitellius,[t] censet: despondeturque Octavia: ac, super priorem necessitudinem, sponsus jam et gener Domitius æquari Britannico, studiis matris, et arte eorum,[u] queis ob accusatam Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur.

10. Per idem tempus legati Parthorum ad expetendum, ut retuli,[v] Meherdaten missi, senatum ingrediuntur, mandataque in hunc modum incipiunt: 'Non se fœderis ignaros, nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire; sed filium Vononis,[x] nepotem Phraatis, accedere adversus dominationem Gotarzis, nobilitati plebique juxta intolerandam. Jam fratres, jam propinquos, jam longius sitos, cædibus exhaustos: adjici conjuges gravidas, liberos parvos, dum socors domi, bellis infaustus, ignaviam sævitia tegat. Veterem sibi ac publice cœptam nobiscum amicitiam; et subveniendum sociis, virium æmulis, cedentibusque per reverentiam. Ideo regum obsides liberos dari, ut si domestici imperii tædeat, sit regressus ad Principem patresque, quorum moribus adsuefactus rex melior adsisceretur.'

11. Ubi hæc atque talia dissertavere, incipit orationem Cæsar 'de fastigio Romano, Parthorumque obsequiis:' seque divo Augusto adæquabat, 'petitum ab eo regem'[y] referens, omissa Tiberii memoria, quamquam is quoque miserat.[z] Addiditque præcepta (etenim aderat Meher-

[r] *Dolore injuriæ*] Annæus Seneca was accused by Messalina of adultery with Julia Livilla, sister of Caius; and banished to Corsica A.U.C. 794.

[s] *Memmium Pollionem*] In this very year U.C. 802. L. Memmius Pollio and Q. Allius Maximus were chosen to supply the regular place of the consuls.

[t] *Vitellius*] Ch. 5.

[u] *Et arte eorum*] So Ms. Reg. The *et* is omitted in the common edds. *Arte eorum*, i.e. of the freedmen, and particularly Narcissus, who, on account of the impeachment of Messalina, feared revenge from Britannicus, her son, if he should ever reign.

[v] *Retuli*] A. xi, 10.

[x] *Filium Vononis*] Meherdates.

[y] *Petitum—regem*] And that he had sent Vonones, as was related, A. ii, 2.

[z] *Is — miserat*] He had sent

dates) 'ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem et cives[a] cogitaret, clementiamque ac justitiam, quanto ignara barbaris, tanto toleratiora capesseret.' Hinc versus ad legatos, extollit laudibus 'alumnum Urbis, spectatæ ad id modestiæ; ac tamen ferenda[b] regum ingenia, neque usui crebras mutationes: rem Romanam huc satietate gloriæ provectam, ut externis quoque gentibus quietem velit.' Datum post hæc C. Cassio, qui Syriæ præerat, deducere juvenem ripam ad Euphratis.

12. Ea tempestate Cassius[c] ceteros præeminebat peritia legum: nam militares artes per otium ignotæ, industriosque aut ignavos pax in æquo tenet. Attamen, quantum sine bello dabatur, revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones, cura, provisu, perinde agere, ac si hostis ingrueret: ita dignum majoribus suis, et familia Cassia ratus, per illas quoque gentes celebrata.[d] Igitur excitis, quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma,[e] unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Parthi rexque Arabum Abgarus[f] advenerat; monet Meherdaten, 'barbarorum impetus acres cunctatione lan-

two, viz. Phraates, A. vi, 31. and Tiridates, vi, 32. the former had died before he possessed the throne, the latter was shortly expelled. It was for this reason perhaps that Claudius omitted them.

[a] *Rectorem et cives*] Well said: that he was their ruler, not their tyrannical lord; that his people were not slaves, but citizens. On these antitheses, see Grot. de Jur. Bell. ac Pac. iii, 8. n. 2.

[b] *Ferenda*] For it was said of kings as of parents; 'Ames parentem, si æquus est; si non, feras.' This is illustrated in a learned manner and in a Christian spirit by Grot. de Jur. i, 4. n. 4, 5.

[c] *Cassius*] Cellarius, in his notes to Plin. Ep. vii, 24. thinks that this Cassius is the same as the one spoken of by Pompon. Digest. lib. i, Tit. 2. 'de origine juris,' Leg. 2. '[Sabino] successit C. Cassius Longinus, natus ex filia Tuberonis, quæ fuit neptis Servii Sulpicii, et ideo proavum suum Servium Sulpicium appellat. Hic consul fuit cum Quartino temporibus Tiberii. Sed plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum C. Cæsar civitate expelleret. Expulsus ab eo in Sardiniam, revocatus a Vespasiano diem suum obiit.' According to Plin. Ep. vii, 24. 'Cassianæ scholæ princeps et parens fuit.' But if he was recalled by Vespasian, he is different from the Cassius, whom Tacitus here mentions as governor of Syria.

[d] *Celebrata*] C. Cassius, the murderer of Cæsar the dictator, protected the lives of the Romans who survived the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians A.U.C. 701: he killed Osaces, the Parthian general, and expelled Pacorus from Syria: Dio, xl, p. 132. &c.

[e] *Apud Zeugma*] Plin. v, 24. Urbs Cyrrhesticæ 'Zeugma lxxii millibus passuum a Samosatis, transitu Euphratis nobile.' Zeugma is so called from ζεύγνυμι, 'to join.' It is now called *Manbeg*.

[f] *Abgarus*] In the Mss. and ancient edds. he is called *Acbarus*, *Æbarus*, and *Abbarus*.

guescere, aut in perfidiam mutari: itaque urgeret cœpta:' quod spretum fraude Abgari, qui juvenem ignarum, et summam fortunam in luxu ratum, multos per dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam.[g] Et vocante Carrhene,[h] 'promtasque res' ostentante, 'si citi advenissent,' non cominus Mesopotamiam, sed flexu Armeniam[i] petunt, id temporis importunam, quia hiems occipiebat.

13. Exin nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carrhenis adjunguntur: transmissoque amne Tigri, permeant Adiabenos,[k] quorum rex Izates[l] societatem Meherdatis palam induerat: in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat. Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos,[m] vetustissima sedes Assyriæ, et Arbela,[n] castellum insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum prælio Persarum illic opes conciderant. Interea Gotarzes, apud montem, cui nomen Sambulos[o] vota Diis loci[p] suscipiebat, præcipua religione Herculi;

[g] *Edessam*] A city of Mesopotamia, the royal city of Abgarus. It is now called *Orfa*. That it was founded by Abgarus Vehomus, we are informed by Moses Chorenensis, Hist. Armeniac. ii, 26. He would have more correctly said that it was improved and adorned by him.

[h] *Carrhene*] Some general of Abgarus.

[i] *Flexu Armeniam*] Briefly said, but accurately and geographically. Meherdates, on leaving Edessa, did not proceed to Mesopotamia, but turned off to Armenia, which was inconvenient to him on account of the mountains which were difficult to approach, and the wintry snow. After he approached the plains, the troops of Carrhenes made a junction with him; and he seems to have passed the Tigris, where is now the city of *Diarbekir*.

[k] *Adiabenos*] Plin. vi, 13. 'Adiabene Assyriorum initium.' Now *part of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia*.

[l] *Rex Izates*] Of Izates and the Parthian history there is much information in Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xx, 2, 3.

[m] *Urbs Ninos*] The city Ninus, or Nineveh, than which none is more celebrated, is now a village called *Nino*, opposite the city Mosul. Mosul is on the right bank of the Tigris, Nino on the left.

[n] *Et Arbela*] In Plin. vi, 13, a part of Adiabene is Arbelitis, in which is Arbela, now *Erbil*.

[o] *Sambulos*] Tacitus used Corbulo's Geographical Tables, which in this part of the world, as in many, were more full and accurate than our own: for geography is illustrated in a less degree and in a slower manner by literature and study than by wars and victories: we should therefore in vain guess what mountain was Sambulos, and what river was Corma. But, to give some proof that we are not altogether ignorant of geography, it seems that Meherdates proceeded from Arbela to meet Gotarzes; and that Gotarzes met Meherdates at Hecatompylos, the royal city of Parthia, now *Ispahan;* and that therefore mount Sambulos and the river Corma were between Arbela and Hecatompylos: that they did not however meet far from mount Eluend and the river Gumedti, which flows into the Tigris. They certainly engaged in battle in the province we now call *Irac-Ajami*.

[p] *Diis loci*] Superstitious men, though not acknowleging an omnipresent God, believed every where in

qui, tempore stato, per quietem monet sacerdotes, 'ut, templum juxta, equos venatui adornatos[q] sistant.' Equi, ubi pharetras telis onustas accepere, per saltus vagi, nocte demum vacuis pharetris, multo cum anhelitu redeunt. Rursus Deus, qua sylvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat: reperiunturque fusæ passim feræ.

14. Ceterum Gotarzes, nondum satis aucto exercitu, flumine Corma pro munimento uti; et quamquam per insectationes et nuntios ad prælium vocaretur, nectere moras, locos mutare, et, missis corruptoribus, exuendam ad fidem hostes emercari. Ex queis Izates Adiabenus, mox Abgarus, Arabum cum exercitu, abscedunt; levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est, barbaros malle Roma petere reges, quam habere. At Meherdates, validis auxiliis nudatus, ceterorum proditione suspecta, quod unum reliquum, rem in casum dare, prælioque experiri statuit. Nec detrectavit pugnam Gotarzes, deminutis hostibus ferox: concursumque magna cæde, et ambiguo eventu; donec Carrhenem, profligatis obversis,[r] longius evectum integer a tergo globus circumveniret. Tum omni spe perdita, Meherdates promissa Parrhacis, paterni clientis, secutus, dolo ejus vincitur, traditurque victori. Atque ille, 'non propinquum, neque Arsacis de gente, sed alienigenam et Romanum' increpans, auribus decisis[s] vivere jubet, ostentui clementiæ suæ, et in nos dehonestamento. Dein Gotarzes morbo obiit, accitusque in regnum Vonones,[t] Medis tum præsidens. Nulla huic prospera aut adversa, queis memoraretur: brevi et inglorio imperio perfunc-

local deities. Among the Herculanean paintings is one, *Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano*, vol. i, p. 207, which exhibits a serpent, the god of the place, with this remarkable inscription: GENIVS HVIVS LOCI MONTIS. Why however ignorant mortals offered their prayers more on mountains than in valleys, is accounted for by Tacitus, A. xiii, 57. 'Eos maxime locos propinquare cœlo, precesque mortalium a Deis nusquam propius audiri.' But a more recondite use of these rites is given us by Pliny, xxviii, 2. 'Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat, in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari Deum, cujus in tutela id oppidum esset; promittique illi eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum: et durat in pontificum disciplina id sacrum; constatque ideo occultatum in cujus Dei tutela Roma esset.' See also Macrob. iii, 9. where is much information on the tutelary deities.

[q] *Venatui adornatos*] It is strange that this marvellous story should be recorded by Tacitus, and omitted by all others.

[r] *Profligatis obversis*] The Parthian troops, which were opposite to him.

[s] *Auribus decisis*] The custom of cutting off the nose and ears, and of digging or dashing out the eyes of the vanquished, was long prevalent in the East.

[t] *Vonones*] Vonones II.

tus est; resque Parthorum in filium ejus Vologesen translatæ.

15. At Mithridates Bosphoranus,[a] amissis opibus vagus, posteaquam Didium[b] ducem Romanum, roburque exercitus abisse cognoverat, relictos in novo regno Cotyn,[x] juventa rudem, et paucas cohortium cum Julio Aquila, equite Romano; spretis utrisque, concire nationes, inlicere perfugas; postremo, exercitu coacto, regem Dandaridarum[y] exturbat, imperioque ejus potitur. Quæ ubi cognita, et jam jamque Bosphorum invasurus habebatur, diffisi propriis viribus Aquila et Cotys, quia Zorsines, Siracorum rex,[z] hostilia resumserat, externas et ipsi gratias quæsivere, missis legatis ad Eunonen, qui Aorsorum genti[a] præcellebat. Nec fuit in arduo societas, potentiam Romanam adversus rebellem Mithridaten ostentantibus. Igitur pepigere, 'equestribus præliis Eunones certaret; obsidia urbium Romani capesserent.'

16. Tum composito agmine incedunt: cujus frontem et terga Aorsi, media cohortes et Bosphorani tutabantur, nostris in armis.[b] Sic pulsus hostis, ventumque Sozam,[c] oppidum Dandaricæ, quod desertum a Mithridate, ob am-

[a] *Mithridates Bosphoranus*] Mithridates, descended from the great Mithridates, had received the kingdom of the Bosphorus from Claudius A.U.C. 794. Dio, lx, p. 670. On his revolt, he was expelled from the kingdom by A. Didius, a Roman general, who gave it to Cotys, brother of Mithridates. On learning the departure of Didius and the strength of the Roman forces, Mithridates attempted to recover his kingdom. The kingdom of the Bosphorus comprehended the *Crimea and the eastern and southern coast of the sea of Azoph.*

[b] *Didium*] See also ch. 40. and in Agr. 14. See also Bimard de Vita T. Didii et gente Did. p. 19.

[x] *Cotyn*] The brother and betrayer of Mithridates: ch. 18. Reimar, the best editor of Dio, seems to be in error, in writing, in his notes to Dio, lx, p. 681, that this Cotys is the same as Cottius, the king of the Cottian Alps, of whom see Dio, l. c.

[y] *Regem Dandaridarum*] The Dandarii, or Dandaridæ, are reckoned among the Mæotian nations by Strabo, xi, p. 495. τῶν Μαιωτῶν δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοί τε οἱ Σίνδοι καὶ Δανδάριοι. The king, or rather petty king of the Dandaridæ, like most of the others, was commonly in subjection to the kings of the Bosphorus, whose dominion sometimes extended as far as the Tanais. The situation of that people is obtained correctly from this narrative of Tacitus. They are the Tartars of Kuban.

[z] *Siracorum rex*] Strabo, xi, p. 492, makes mention of Ἄορσοι καὶ Σιρακοί. They are no other than the ΣΗΡΑΚΗΝΟΙ, placed by Ptolemy, v, 9, among the Iaxamatæ. They formed a part therefore of the Tartars of Kuban.

[a] *Aorsorum genti*] They dwelt above the Mæotian lake. Now *the eastern part of Little Tartary*, between the Nieper and the Don.

[b] *Nostris in armis*] The Bosphorani armed in the manner of the Romans.

[c] *Sozam*] That town of the Dandaridæ is no more. Perhaps protected by hurdles, like the city Uspe.

biguos popularium animos obtineri, relicto ibi præsidio, visum. Exin in Siracos pergunt; et transgressi amnem Pandam,[d] circumveniunt urbem Uspen,[e] editam loco, et mœnibus ac fossis munitam; nisi quod mœnia non saxo, sed cratibus revinctis, ac media humo, adversum inrumpentes invalida erant: eductæque altius turres, facibus atque hastis turbabant obsessos: ac ni prælium nox diremisset, cœpta patrataque expugnatio eumdem intra diem foret.

17. Postero misere legatos, 'veniam liberis corporibus' orantes: 'servitii decem millia' offerebant: quod aspernati sunt victores, quia trucidare deditos sævum, tantam multitudinem custodia cingere arduum: ut belli potius jure caderent: datumque militibus, qui scalis evaserant, signum cædis. Excidio Uspensium metus ceteris injectus, nihil tutum ratis, cum arma, munimenta, impediti vel eminentes loci, amnesque et urbes juxta perrumperentur. Igitur Zorsines, diu pensitato, Mithridatisne rebus extremis, an patrio regno consuleret; postquam prævaluit gentilis utilitas, datis obsidibus, apud effigiem Cæsaris[f] procubuit, magna gloria exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem, tridui itinere abfuisse ab amne Tanai[g] constitit. Sed in regressu dispar fortuna fuit; quia navium quasdam, quæ mari remeabant, in littora Taurorum[h] delatas circumvenere barbari, præfecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfectis.

18. Interea Mithridates, nullo in armis subsidio, consultat cujus misericordiam experiretur. Frater Cotys,[i] proditor olim, deinde hostis, metuebatur: Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut promissa ejus magni penderentur. Ad Eunonen[k] convertit, propriis odiis non infensum, et recens conjuncta nobiscum amicitia, validum. Igitur cultu, vultuque quam maxime ad præsentem fortunam comparato, regiam ingreditur, genibusque ejus provolutus, 'Mithridates,' inquit, 'terra marique Romanis per tot annos quæsitus, sponte adsum. Utere, ut voles, prole

[d] *Amnem Pandam*] This river is mentioned by Tacitus alone. I think it was one of those which flow into the lake of Bissuga.

[e] *Urbem Uspen*] Now no more.

[f] *Effigiem Cæsaris*] With the same ceremonies as those mentioned in A. xv, 29. and H. i, 36.

[g] *Tanai*] *The Don.*

[h] *Taurorum*] The Tauri inhabited the eastern shore of the lake Mæotis, beyond the mouth of the river Rhombitis, *the Kuban.*

[i] *Frater Cotys*] See ch. 15.

[k] *Eunonen*] General of the Aorsi, of whom in ch. 15.

magni Achæmenis,[m] quod mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt.'

19. At Eunones claritudine viri, mutatione rerum, et prece haud degenere permotus, adlevat supplicem, laudatque 'quod gentem Aorsorum, quod suam dextram petendæ veniæ delegerit.' Simul legatos literasque ad Cæsarem in hunc modum mittit: 'Populi Romani imperatoribus magnarumque nationum regibus, primam ex similitudine fortunæ amicitiam: sibi et Claudio etiam communionem victoriæ esse. Bellorum egregios fines, quotiens ignoscendo transigatur.[n] Sic Zorsini victo nihil ereptum. Pro Mithridate, quando gravius mereretur, non potentiam, non regnum precari; sed ne triumpharetur, neve pœnas capite expenderet.'

20. At Claudius, quamquam nobilitatibus externis mitis, dubitavit tamen, accipere captivum pacto salutis, an repetere armis, rectius foret. Huc dolor injuriarum, et libido vindictæ adigebat. Sed disserebatur contra: 'Suscipi bellum avio itinere, importuoso mari: ad hoc reges feroces; vagos populos; solum frugum egens: tum tædium ex mora, pericula ex properantia; modicam victoribus laudem, ac multum infamiæ, si pellerentur: quin arriperet oblata, et servaret exulem; cui inopi quanto longiorem vitam, tanto plus supplicii fore.' His permotus, scripsit Eunoni, 'meritum quidem novissima exempla Mithridatem, nec sibi vim ad exsequendum deesse: verum ita majoribus placitum, quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum: nam triumphos de populis[o] regnisque integris adquiri.'

21. Traditus post hoc Mithridates, vectusque Romam per Junium Cilonem procuratorem Ponti, ferocius, quam

[m] *Prole magni Achæmenis*] He gave himself out as descended from the Persian kings. Achæmenes, the first of the name, was the grandfather of Cambyses; whence Xerxes, in enumerating his family in Herodotus, vii, 11, says: *ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀρμνεω, τοῦ Τείσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τείσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς*: Xerxes, 'the son of Darius, who was the son of Hystaspes, who was the son of Arsames, who was the son of Armnes, who was the son of Teispeus, who was the son of Cyrus, who was the son of Cambyses, who was the son of Teispeus, who was the son of Achæmenes.' Hence the Persian kings were called Achæmenidæ.

[n] *Transigatur*] Well said. So also Julius Cæsar in Epistola: 'Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.' See Grot. de Jur. Bell. ac Pac. iii, 15. n. 12.

[o] *Triumphos de populis*] For then a triumph is obtained not over a small and pitiable band of captives, but over whole kingdoms.

pro fortuna, disseruisse apud Cæsarem ferebatur. Elataque vox ejus in vulgum hisce verbis: 'Non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: vel, si non credis, dimitte, et quære:'[p] vultu quoque interrito[q] permansit, cum rostra juxta, custodibus circumdatus, visui populo præberetur. Consularia insignia[r] Ciloni, Aquilæ prætoria[s] decernuntur.

22. Iisdem consulibus, atrox odii Agrippina, ac Lolliæ infensa, quod secum de matrimonio Principis certavisset,[t] molitur crimina, et accusatorem, qui objiceret 'Chaldæos, magos, interrogatumque Apollinis Clarii[u] simulacrum super nuptiis Imperatoris.' Exin Claudius, inaudita rea, multa de claritudine ejus apud senatum præfatus, 'sorore L. Volusii[v] genitam, majorem ei patruum Cottam Messalinum[x] esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam;' (nam de C. Cæsaris nuptiis[y] consulto reticebat) addidit 'perniciosa in rempublicam consilia, et materiem sceleri detrahendam. Proin, publicatis bonis, cederet Italia.' Ita quinquagies sestertium[z] ex opibus immensis exuli relictum. Et Calpurnia inlustris fœmina pervertitur, quia formam ejus laudaverat Princeps, nulla libidine, sed fortuito sermone: unde vis Agrippinæ citra ultima[a] stetit. In Lolliam mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur. Damnatus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus,[b] accusantibus Bithynis.

[p] *Dimitte, et quære*] Vain language for a wretched prince.

[q] *Vultu—interrito*] This is worthy of the descendant of Achæmenes. To be vanquished is human, to be broken in spirit is mad.

[r] *Consularia insignia*] The fasces, the curule chair, the toga, and prætexta.

[s] *Aquilæ prætoria*] Julius Aquila, of whom in ch. 15. The insignia prætoria are the laticlave, the paludamentum, the curule chair, the prætexta, rings, a sword, and spear.

[t] *Certavisset*] For this contest see ch. 1 and 2.

[u] *Apollinis Clarii*] See A. ii, 54. See also a coin of the Colophonii and the Clarian Apollo, in Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes, vol. ii, p. 73.

[v] *L. Volusii*] See A. xiii, 30. The Volusii, as sprung from the Rutulian kings, are eulogised by Rutilius, in Itinerario, vs. 169: 'Qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen, Et reges Rutulos, teste Marone, refert.' See Virgil, Æn. xi, 463, 464.

[x] *Cottam Messalinum*] Son of Messala the orator. Cotta is praised by Ovid, iv de Pont. xvi, 43. 'Te tamen in turba, non ausim, Cotta, silere, Pieridum lumen, præsidiumque fori; Maternos Cottas cui Messalasque paternos Maxima nobilitas ingeminata dedit.'

[y] *C. Cæsaris nuptiis*] On the marriage of Caius Caligula and Lollia, see Sueton. Caio, 25. Dio, lix, p. 648.

[z] *Quinquagies sestertium*] 41,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The immense wealth of Lollia can be estimated from what we said in St. C. 89.

[a] *Citra ultima*] Agrippina allowed Calpurnia to live, because Claudius had no love for her: but, being hostile to Lollia, she sent a tribune to despatch her.

[b] *Cadius Rufus*] See Pellerin's

23. Galliæ Narbonensi, ob egregiam in patres reverentiam, datum, 'ut senatoribus ejus provinciæ, non exquisita Principis sententia, jure quo Sicilia haberetur, res suas invisere[c] liceret.' Ituræique[d] et Judæi, defunctis regibus Sohemo atque Agrippa,[e] provinciæ Syriæ additi.[f] Salutis augurium[g] quinque et viginti annis[h] omissum, repeti, ac deinde continuari placitum: et pomœrium Urbis auxit Cæsar more prisco, quo iis, qui protulere imperium, etiam terminos Urbis propagare datur. Nec tamen duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant, nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.

24. Regum in eo ambitio vel gloria varie vulgata.[k] Sed initium condendi, et quod pomœrium Romulus posuerit, noscere, haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro boario,[l] ubi æreum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi cœptus, ut magnam Herculis aram[m] amplecteretur. Inde

Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes, vol. iii, p. 227.

[c] *Invisere*] To prevent confusions in the provinces, Augustus had made a decree, A.U.C. 725, that no senator should leave Italy without order or permission, προσαπεῖπε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλεύουσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς τινὶ κελεύσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ, Dio, lii, p. 494. Fond of a frequent attendance in the senate and in the tribunals, Claudius forbade them being seven miles from Rome without the order of the emperor, as we learn from Suidas under Κλαύδιος. Even in the age of Dio it was still unallowed to a senator to go out of the country except to Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis. See Dio, l. c.

[d] *Ituræique*] Of these speaks Strabo, xvi, 755. Ἰτουραῖοί τε καὶ Ἄραβες κακοῦργοι πάντες, 'Ituræans and Arabians offenders all.' The Iturægi were placed at the east of Jordan, where were formerly the tribes of Dan and Reuben, and half of the tribe of Manasseh. Dio, lix, p. 649, mentions Sohemus, king τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων.

[e] *Sohemo—Agrippa*] Sohemus II. and Agrippa the Great.

[f] *Additi*] The Ituræi were then added; but Judea had long before been assigned to Syria: for on the death of Agrippa the Great, A.U.C. 797, Cuspius Fadus was immediately sent as governor: Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xix, 9. Tacitus probably united these; because in the year before, U.C. 801, the eighth of Claudius, on the death of Herod, brother of Agrippa the Great king of Chalcis, Agrippa II, son of Agrippa the Great, received Chalcis from Claudius: Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xx, 5.

[g] *Salutis augurium*] Dio, xxxvii, p. 40.

[h] *Quinque et viginti a.*] It was omitted therefore from A.U.C. 777, in which Tacfarinas was killed, as was said above, A. iv, 25.

[k] *Varie vulgata*] See the different opinions of ancient writers on the enlargement of the pomœrium by the Roman kings, in Donat. de Urbe Roma, i, 5. Græv. Antiq. Rom. vol. iii, col. 486.

[l] *A foro boario*] It was in the eleventh district of the city, between Mounts Palatine, Capitoline, and Aventine: it is now called *Campo Vaccino*.

[m] *Magnam H. aram*] In the oxmarket, near the church of St. Anastasia.

certis spatiis interjecti lapides, per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi,[n] mox ad Curias veteres,[o] tum ad sacellum Larium[p] forumque Romanum. Capitolium[q] non a Romulo, sed a T. Tatio additum Urbi credidere. Mox pro fortuna pomœrium auctum: et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit,[r] facile cognitu, et publicis actis perscriptum.

25. [A.U.C. 803. J.C. 50.] C. Antistio, M. Suilio[s] consulibus, adoptio in Domitium,[t] auctoritate Pallantis, festinatur: qui obstrictus Agrippinæ, ut conciliator nuptiarum, et mox stupro ejus inligatus, stimulabat Claudium, 'consuleret reipublicæ, Britannici pueritiam robore circumdaret. Sic apud divum Augustum, quamquam nepotibus subnixum,[u] viguisse privignos:[v] a Tiberio, super propriam stirpem, Germanicum adsumtum. Se quoque accingeret juvene, partem curarum capessituro.' His evictus, biennio majorem[x] natu Domitium filio anteponit, habita apud senatum oratione in eumdem, quem a liberto acceperat, modum. Adnotabant periti, nullam antehac adoptionem[y]

[n] *Aram Consi*] In the same district, and the Circus Maximus, not far from St. Gregory's church, was the altar of Consus, or the god of counsel, which Romulus pretended to have found under ground; and instituted the games at which the Sabine women were ravished. Hence the honor paid to the god Consus, and the Consualia, which were celebrated XII. Kal. Sept. or Aug. 21. On this altar, see more in Plut. Romul. p. 25.

[o] *Curias veteres*] In the tenth district and mount Palatine, near Constantine's arch. Of these Curiæ, Varro, L. L. iv, p. 25. 'Curiæ duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas; ut Curiæ veteres: et ubi senatus humanas; ut Curia Hostilia, quod primus ædificavit Hostilius rex.'

[p] *Sacellum Larium*] In the same district and in a corner of the Farnesian gardens opposite the church of SS. Cosma and Damian. Hence Rome, as founded by Romulus, occupied mount Palatine, where are now gardens, and particularly the Farnesian. See Donat. de Urb. Rom. i, 3. Such fame has sprung from so small a town.

[q] *Capitolium*] In the eighth district. Titus Tatius, who occupied Mount Capitoline, made a treaty with Romulus, and united it with Palatine. The pomœrium was therefore at first enlarged for the sake of amity and utility; afterwards for the sake of good success, and when the boundaries of the empire were advanced.

[r] *Terminos posuerit*] Claudius added to the city mount Aventine.

[s] *M. Suilio*] C. Antistius Vetus and M. Suilius Nervilianus were consuls A.U.C. 803, J.C. 50. Suilius has the cognomen of Nervilianus in the Fasti Vindobonenses, and by Cassiodorus.

[t] *In Domitium*] Son of Agrippina: St. C. 35: after his adoption called Nero. On this adoption see Dio, lx, p. 686.

[u] *Nepotibus subnixum*] Caius, Lucius, Agrippa Postumus. St. C. 48—50.

[v] *Viguisse privignos*] Tib. Nero and Claudius Drusus. A. i, 3. and St. C. 68. 79.

[x] *Biennio majorem*] So the Mss. and the edds. But we must by all means read *triennio*, as is manifest from Suet. Claud. 27. Ner. 6. See also St. C. 35. 108.

[y] *Nullam—adoptionem*] That no stranger had been hitherto adopted by the Claudii, though they themselves

inter patricios Claudios reperiri, eosque ab Atto Clauso[z] continuos duravisse.

26. Ceterum actæ Principi grates, exquisitiore in Domitium adulatione: rogataque lex,[a] qua 'in familiam Claudiam et nomen Neronis[b] transiret.' Augetur et Agrippina cognomento Augustæ:[c] quibus patratis, nemo adeo expers misericordiæ fuit, quem non Britannici fortunæ mœror adficeret: desolatus paulatim[d] etiam servilibus ministeriis, intempestiva novercæ officia in ludibria vertebat, intelligens falsi. Neque enim segnem ei fuisse indolem ferunt: sive verum; seu periculis commendatus, retinuit famam sine experimento.

27. Sed Agrippina, quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos coloniamque[e] deduci impetrat; cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius. Ac forte acciderat, ut eam gentem, Rheno transgressam,[f] avus Agrippa[g] in fidem acciperet. Iisdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum, adventu Cattorum,[h] latrocinia agitantium. Deinde[i]

were adopted by other families. The Claudii had passed into the Livian and Julian family. Amelot de la Houssaie thinks that Tacitus is here inconsistent, since Tiberius had already adopted Germanicus: but Germanicus himself belonged to the Claudian family, and therefore was not adopted from a foreign stock. Indeed Domitius himself had in Agrippina a mother descended from the Claudian family.

[z] *Atto Clauso*] The originator of the Claudian family, as was said A. xi, 24.

[a] *Rogataque lex*] The Lex Curiata, of which in H. i, 15.

[b] *Claudiam — Neronis*] These names are exhibited on the coins we shall produce presently, and in ch. 41.

[c] *Cognomento Augustæ*] She is so called in a silver coin in the Royal Museum. AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA MATER AVGVSTI. The head of Agrippina. On the other side, NERO CLAVD. DIVI F. CAESAR AVG. GERMANI. The head of Nero encircled with laurel.

[d] *Desolatus paulatim*] Britannicus was by degrees deprived not only of his friends, but even his slaves; since Agrippina pretended that a boy, scarcely nine years old, still required female care. These ill-timed attentions of his step-mother were ridiculed by Britannicus, now aware of the fraud.

[e] *Veteranos coloniamque*] Hence Plin. iv, 17. 'Hinc Ubii, Colonia Agrippinensis,' now *Cologne*. There is said to be at Beneventum an ancient stone, in which is recorded COL. CLAVD. AVG. AGRIPPINENSIVM, i. e. 'Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium.' See Gruter, p. 436. n. 7. Other records of Roman antiquity among the Ubii have been published by Steph. Broelman, Specim. Hist. Civit. Ubior. On the authority of Paulus, Digest. Libr. L. Tit. 15. de Censibus, 'In Germania inferiore Agrippinenses juris Italici sunt.' The reader may consult Schoepflin, Alsatia Illustr. vol. i, p. 286, &c.

[f] *Rheno trangressam*] See the obs. on G. 28.

[g] *Avus Agrippa*] Grandfather of Agrippina. St. C. 47.

[h] *Cattorum*] Now *Hesse*.

[i] *Deinde*] It is here used in the uncommon sense of *quamobrem*.

L. Pomponius, legatus, auxiliares Vangionas ac Nemetas,[k] addito equite alario,[l] monuit, 'ut anteirent populatores, vel dilapsis improvisi circumfunderentur.' Et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in duo agmina, qui lævum iter[m] petiverant, recens reversos, prædaque per luxum usos, et somno graves circumvenere. Aucta lætitia, quod quosdam e clade Variana,[n] post quadragesimum annum, servitio exemerant.

28. At qui dextris et propioribus compendiis ierant, obvio hosti et aciem auso, plus cladis faciunt;[o] et præda famaque onusti, ad montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionibus opperiebatur, si Catti cupidine ulciscendi casum pugnæ præberent. Illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum queis æternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in Urbem et obsides misere: decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famæ ejus apud posteros, in queis carminum gloria[p] præcellit.

[k] *Vangionas—Nemetas*] Schoepflin, Alsatia Illustr. vol. i, p. 136 and 362, thinks that these people at that time lived beyond the Rhine; and that they did not live on this side of the Rhine till the times of Claudius and Vespasian. If they lived at that time beyond the Rhine, they do not seem to have settled far from mount Taunus, of which below. The Vangiones on this side of the Rhine are now *the diocese of Worms;* the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire.*

[l] *Equite alario*] i. e. the auxiliary cavalry, as in A. xiii, 35.

[m] *Lævum iter*] The course of the war was this. L. Pomponius, to protect Upper Germany, occupied Mons Taunus, *mount Heyrich,* over against the city Moguntia, *Mayence.* At the left of mount Taunus, the Catti, on their return to their country, were pursued by a part of the Vangiones, of the Nemetes, and the auxiliary horse; and were overtaken, glutted with booty and asleep. A second division marched to the right, and by a shorter road; and being attacked by the plundering Catti, who risked a battle, they made more slaughter than that division which had surrounded the enemy in a drunken state. Laden with booty, and glorious through their conquests, they returned to mount Taunus, where Pomponius with his troops was waiting to see if the Catti, through desire of revenge, would give an opportunity of fighting: but having failed hitherto in their attacks, and fearing the Romans on one side and the Cherusci on the other, they sent ambassadors and hostages into the city.

[n] *Clade Variana*] This is often mentioned in A. i. and ii.

[o] *Plus cladis faciunt*] According to Schoepflin, Alsatia Illustr. vol. i, p. 362, the Romans, in this engagement, 'haud paucos ex suis desideraverunt. Catti hinc præda onusti, et ob victoriam elati, cum ad montem Taunum reverterentur, sibique Pomponium cum legionibus obvium viderent, metuentes, ne hinc a Romanis, inde a Cheruscis, Germanis quidem, at perpetuis æmulis suis atque inimicis, circumdarentur, obsides miserunt; qui Romam abducti fecerunt ut triumphalis honos decerneretur Pomponio.' This interpretation is refuted by the Latinity and by the order of the narrative. But no one can wonder at an error in so large and so learned a work.

[p] *Carminum gloria*] There was ano-

29. Per idem tempus Vannius,[q] Suevis a Druso Cæsare impositus, pellitur regno, prima imperii ætate clarus, acceptusque popularibus: mox diuturnitate in superbiam mutans, et odio accolarum, simul domesticis discordiis circumventus. Auctores fuere Vibilius, Hermundurorum[r] rex, et Vangio ac Sido, sorore Vannii geniti. Nec Claudius, quamquam sæpe oratus, arma certantibus barbaris interposuit, tutum Vannio perfugium promittens, si pelleretur; scripsitque P. Attellio Histro, qui Pannoniæ præsidebat, 'legionem, ipsaque e provincia lecta auxilia, pro ripa[s] componeret, subsidio victis,[t] et terrori adversus victores, ne, fortuna elati, nostram quoque pacem turbarent:' nam vis innumera Ligii,[u] aliæque gentes adventabant, fama ditis regni, quod Vannius XXX. per annos prædationibus et vectigalibus auxerat. Ipsi manus propria pedites, eques e Sarmatis Jazygibus[v] erat, impar multitudini hostium: eoque castellis sese defensare, bellumque ducere statuerat.

30. Sed Jazyges, obsidionis impatientes, et proximos per campos vagi, necessitudinem pugnæ attulere, quia Ligius Hermundurusque illic ingruerant. Igitur degressus castellis Vannius, funditur prælio: quamquam rebus adversis laudatus, 'quod et pugnam manu capessiit, et corpore adverso vulnera excepit.' Ceterum ad classem,[x] in Danubio opperientem,[y] perfugit. Secuti mox clientes,

ther P. Pomponius, also an eminent poet.

[q] *Vannius*] Vannius had received the kingdom A.U.C. 772, as we said on A. ii, 63. where the boundaries of his dominion are accurately described: for he did not reign over all the Suevi.

[r] *Vibilius, Hermundurorum*] Of Vibilius and the nation of the Hermunduri, see A. ii, 63.

[s] *Pro ripa*] Of the Danube.

[t] *Subsidio victis*] Ms. Reg. *subsidium victis, et terrorem adversus victores.* Each is Latin.

[u] *Ligii*] They inhabited a part of Poland on this side of the Vistula. Of the Ligii and other nations, see G. 43.

[v] *Sarmatis Jazygibus*] The Sarmatæ Jazyges inhabited a great tract of country, now *part of Russia and Moldavia:* they drove out the Dacæ, and held the country up to the mouths of the Tibisc and the Danube: they increased their dominion, and pushed on 'usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti, [*near Hainburg*] Germanorumque ibi confinium,' Plin. iv, 12. 25. Of the cavalry of Jazyges, see Hist. iii, 5.

[x] *Ad classem*] Of the Romans, drawn up before the bank, as was said in the former chapter. For the fleets of the Romans, see A. iv, 5.

[y] *Opperientem*] Claudius, a good-natured man, and unacquainted with the arts of reigning, waited for Vannius and his barbarian dependents, and promised them refuge. How much more cautious was Tiberius, in subduing the Germans either by open war, or, what is more efficacious, by intestine discords! This indolent

et, acceptis agris, in Pannonia locati sunt. Regnum Vangio ac Sido[z] inter se partivere, egregia adversus nos fide: subjectis, suone an servitii ingenio, dum adipiscerentur dominationes,[a] multa caritate, et majore odio, postquam adepti sunt.

31. At in Britannia P. Ostorium, proprætorem, turbidæ res excepere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus, eo violentius, quod novum ducem,[b] exercitu ignoto, et cœpta hyeme, iturum obviam non rebantur. Ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni, citas cohortes rapit; et cæsis qui restiterant, disjectos consectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur, infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi, requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspectis, cinctosque castris[c] Antonam et Sabrinam, fluvios, cohibere parat. Quod primi Iceni abnuere,[d] valida gens, nec præliis contusi, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant: hisque auctoribus, circumjectæ nationes locum pugnæ[e] delegere, septum agresti aggere, et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. Ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere adgreditur, et distributis cohortibus, turmas quoque[f] peditum ad munia accingit. Tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem, suisque claustris impeditos turbant. Atque illi conscientia rebellionis, et obseptis effugiis, multa et clara facinora fecere. Qua pugna filius legati, M. Ostorius, servati civis[g] decus meruit.

feeling on the part of Claudius was the commencement and source of the power of the Goths. From such little beginnings, ch. 24, did Rome grow; and by the same did she fall.

[z] *Sido*] Of the good faith of Sido, see H. iii, 5. 21.

[a] *Dominationes*] It would be more elegant to say *dominationis*, as in A. vi, 45. They were beloved by their subjects while they struggled for power, but were hated after they obtained it.

[b] *Novum ducem*] Ostorius had succeeded A. Plautius, the first of those of consular dignity who had been set over Britain. See Agr. 14.

[c] *Cinctosque castris*] Ostorius surrounded with forts, not Antona, now *Avon*, but Aufona, now *Nen*, and Sabrina, now *Severn*, for the purpose of defending his allies from the attack of the enemy, and of making them more obsequious to the Romans. These forts seem to have run between Gloucester and Northampton.

[d] *Iceni abnuere*] The Iceni, lest on the plea of defence slavery should be their future lot, were the first to refuse assistance. The Iceni lived in the east of Britain, where is now *Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.*

[e] *Locum pugnæ*] The engagement perhaps took place in Huntingdonshire.

[f] *Turmas quoque*] The cavalry also he instructs in the manœuvres of the infantry: for *turmæ* is a word belonging to the cavalry.

[g] *Servati civis*] A crown of oak, such as we see on coins, as we have

32. Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi, qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Cangos[h] exercitus. Vastati agri, prædæ passim actæ: non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carpere agmen tentarent, punito dolo. Jam ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat; cum ortæ apud Brigantas[i] discordiæ retraxere ducem, destinationis certum,[k] ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis. Et Brigantes quidem, paucis, qui arma cœptabant, interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere. Silurum gens,[l] non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quo promtius veniret,[m] colonia Camulodunum[n] valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

33. Itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam, Caractaci[o] viribus confisos; quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores præmineret. Sed tum astu, tum locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in Ordovicas,[p] additisque, qui pacem nostram metuebant,[q] novissimum casum experitur: sumto ad prælium loco,[r] ut aditus, abscessus,

often observed, with the inscription OB SERVATOS CIVIS. This was a glory, to which none among the Romans was superior. Pliny uses a bold expression, ii, 7. 'Deus est mortali juvare mortalem.'

[h] *Cangos*] Where these were situated, was long a matter of dispute. At length it became clear that they lived in *North Wales and in Cheshire;* where were found large pieces of lead with the inscription, IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE CEANG. i. e. 'Imperator Domitianus Augustus Germanicus de Ceangis.' See Camden, Britan. p. 546. and Stukeley, The Medallic History of Carausius, vol. i, p. 176.

[i] *Apud Brigantas*] The Brigantes lived in the north of Britain, where are now *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmorland, and Cumberland.*

[k] *Destinationis certum*] Of strengthening his conquests.

[l] *Silurum gens*] They lived about the parts of South Wales, now called *Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, Herefordshire, and Radnorshire.*

[m] *Promtius veniret*] That this might take place the more readily, or that they might be the more readily and certainly subdued.

[n] *Colonia Camulodunum*] Now *Colchester, in Essex.*

[o] *Caractaci*] Zonaras, vol. i, p. 565, calls him Καράτακος. Haym, in his *Tesoro Britannico*, thinks his genuine name was *Carictacus.*

[p] *In Ordovicas*] The Ordovices lived below the Cangi in North Wales: now called *Flintshire, Denbighshire, Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire.*

[q] *Metuebant*] And he added others who feared the Roman yoke. So in ch. 29. 'Ne fortuna elati, nostram quoque pacem turbarent;' and Plin. xxvii, 1. 'Immensa Romanæ pacis majestate.' See Ruhnk. ad Vell. Paterc. ii, 131. not. inf.

[r] *Sumto—loco*] Camden, Britan. p. 524, states that the place of the engagement was among the Cornavii in Shropshire, where the river Colunus,

cuncta nobis importuna, et suis in melius essent. Tunc montibus arduis, et, si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa præstruit: et præfluebat amnis[s] vado incerto, catervaque majorum[t] pro munimentis constiterant.

34. Ad hoc gentium ductores[u] circumire, hortari, firmare animos, minuendo metu, accendenda spe, aliisque belli incitamentis. Enimvero Caractacus huc illuc volitans, 'illum diem, illam aciem,' testabatur, 'aut reciperandæ libertatis, aut servitutis æternæ initium fore: vocabatque nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Cæsarem pepulissent: quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis, intemerata conjugum et liberorum corpora retinerent.' Hæc atque talia dicenti, adstrepere vulgus; gentili quisque religione obstringi, 'non telis, non vulneribus cessuros.'

35. Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum: simul objectus amnis,[v] additum vallum, imminentia juga, nihil nisi atrox et propugnatoribus frequens, terrebat. Sed miles prælium poscere, 'cuncta virtute expugnabilia,' clamitare; præfectique ac tribuni paria disserentes, ardorem exercitus incendebant. Tum Ostorius, circumspectis quæ impenetrabilia, quæque pervia, ducit infensos, amnemque haud difficulter evadit. Ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos, et pleræque cædes oriebantur. Posteaquam, facta testudine,[x] rudes et informes saxorum compages distractæ, parque cominus acies; decedere barbari in juga montium.[y] Sed eo quoque inrupere ferentarius[z] gravisque miles: illi telis adsul-

the Clune, flows into the river Temd; and that a hill of ancient date is still shown, which they call *Caer-Caradoc.*

[s] *Præfluebat amnis*] The river Temdus, *the Temd.* That the fords are here of uncertain depth, we learn from Camden, l. c.

[t] *Catervaque majorum*] I think no change is here necessary. The meaning is, that the bands of the old and principal warriors sat down before the fortifications. *Catervæ constiterant,* like 'juventus invadunt,' ch. 40.

[u] *Gentium ductores*] The Britons, like the Gauls, arrayed their army by tribes, that the separate valor of each might be distinctly noticed: an observation justly made by Lipsius.

[v] *Objectus amnis*] *The Temd.*

[x] *Facta testudine*] This is not to be understood of troops drawn up in that form, but of the machine called the 'testudo,' of which Veget. iv, 14. By it piles of stones were levelled: ch. 33.

[y] *Juga montium*] Which are numerous between the springs of the rivers *Clune and Temd.*

[z] *Ferentarius*] i. e. of light armor. Veget. i, 20. 'Erant autem apud veteres inter pedites, qui dicebantur levis armaturæ, funditores et ferentarii; qui præcipue in cornibus locabantur, et a quibus pugnandi sumebatur exordium: sed hi velocissimi et exercitatissimi

tantes, hi conferto gradu: turbatis contra Britannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve tegmina: et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legionariorum; si huc verterent, spathis[a] et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur: clara ea victoria fuit, captaque uxore et filia Caractaci, fratres quoque in deditionem accepti.

36. Ipse (ut ferme intuta sunt adversa) cum fidem Cartismanduæ, reginæ Brigantum, petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno,[b] quam bellum in Britannia cœptum. Unde fama ejus evecta insulas, et proximas provincias pervagata, per Italiam quoque celebrabatur: avebantque visere, quis ille, tot per annos, opes nostras sprevisset. Ne Romæ quidem ignobile Caractaci nomen erat: et Cæsar, dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam victo. Vocatus quippe, ut ad insigne spectaculum, populus. Stetere in armis prætoriæ cohortes campo qui castra[c] præjacet. Tum, incedentibus regiis clientelis, phaleræ torquesque, quæque externis bellis quæsierat, traducta: mox fratres, et conjux, et filia: postremo ipse ostentatus. Ceterorum preces degeneres fuere, ex metu: at non Caractacus,[d] aut vultu demisso, aut verbis, misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali[e] adstitit, in hunc modum locutus est.

37. 'Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius in hanc Urbem, quam captus venissem: neque dedignatus esses claris majoribus ortum, pluribus gentibus imperitantem, fœdere pacis accipere. Præsens sors mea, ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica est: habui equos, viros, arma, opes: quid mirum, si hæc invitus amisi? Non, si vos omnibus imperi-

legebantur. Nec erant admodum multi, qui cedentes (si prælii necessitas compulisset) inter principia legionum recipi solebant, ita ut acies immota consisteret.' In this engagement the soldiers of light and of heavy armor pressed on together.

[a] *Spathis*] Vegetius, ii, 15, enumerates, 'gladios majores, quos spathas vocant; et alios minores, quos semispathas nominant.' Hence the Italian *Spada*.

[b] *Nono post a.*] Tacitus therefore traces the commencement of the war to the dissensions of the Britons, which were the cause of the British expedition. Nor does this oppose what is said in H. iii, 45, as Lipsius thought.

[c] *Castra*] sc. prætoria Romæ.

[d] *Non Caractacus*] Admirably done, and in a manner well suited to his royal dignity. The same Caractacus censures the insatiable cupidity of the Romans. On seeing the splendor and vastness of the city, 'And do you,' said he, 'being in possession of these treasures, and others like them, desire our little tents?' Εἶτα, ἔφη, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι, τῶν σκηνιδίων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε; Zonaras, p. 566.

[e] *Tribunali*] See A. i, 18.

tare vultis, sequitur, ut omnes servitutem accipiant. Si statim deditus traderer; neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria inclaruisset. Supplicium mei[f] oblivio sequetur: at si incolumem servaveris, æternum exemplar clementiæ ero.' Ad ea Cæsar veniam ipsique, et conjugi, et fratribus, tribuit. Atque illi, vinclis exsoluti, Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu conspicuam, iisdem, quibus Principem, laudibus gratibusque venerati sunt. Novum sane,[g] et moribus veterum insolitum, fœminam signis Romanis præsidere. Ipsa semet parti a majoribus suis imperii sociam[h] ferebat.

38. Vocati posthac patres multa et magnifica super captivitate Caractaci disseruere: 'Neque minus id clarum, quam cum Syphacem P. Scipio,[i] Persen L. Paullus, et si qui alii vinctos reges populo Romano ostendere.' Censentur 'Ostorio triumphi insignia,'[k] prosperis ad id rebus ejus, mox ambiguis: sive, quod, amoto Caractaco, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit; sive hostes, miseratione tanti regis, acrius ad ultionem exarsere. Præfectum castrorum, et legionarias cohortes exstruendis apud Siluras præsidiis relictas, circumfundunt: ac ni cito vicis et castellis proximis subventum foret, copiæ tum occidione occubuissent. Præfectus tamen, et octo centuriones, ac promtissimus quisque manipulus cecidere: nec multo post pabulantes nostros missasque ad subsidium turmas profligant.

39. Tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas exposuit:[l] nec

[f] *Supplicium mei*] My punishment will be forgotten. I would not disguise the truth, that in this speech the words 'imperitantem—imperitare—sequitur—sequetur,' are used negligently.

[g] *Novum sane*] Yet not wonderful, the husband being a fool, and the wife ambitious.

[h] *Imperii sociam*] Not only so, but foreign nations held her so too, and chiefly Polemon II. the Pontic king, of whom a remarkable silver coin was published by Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Rois, p. 187. On one side is the head of Polemon surrounded with a diadem, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟ: on the other is the head of Agrippina surrounded also with a diadem, ΕΤΟΥΣ ΙΕ, i. e. in the fifteenth year of Polemon, which was A.U.C. 806.

[i] *Syphacem P. Scipio*] Syphax, king of the Masæsyli, was led in triumph by P. Scipio A.U.C. 553. Polyb. xvi, p. 733. Æmilius Paulus triumphed A.U.C. 586, on the conquest of Perseus, the last king of Macedon; and, as we learn from Pliny, xxxiii, 3, 17, brought to the treasury out of the Macedonian booty HS. MM. CCC. or £1,916, 666. 3s. 4d., after which the Romans left off paying tribute.

[k] *Triumphi insignia*] See these described in Agr. 40.

[l] *Exposuit*] Lipsius prefers *opposuit*.

ideo fugam sistebat, ni legiones prælium excepissent. Earum robore æquata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. Effugere hostes tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies. Crebra hinc prælia, et sæpius in modum latrocinii, per saltus, per paludes; ut cuique sors, aut virtus: temere, proviso; ob iram, ob prædam; jussu, et aliquando ignaris ducibus: ac præcipua Silurum pervicacia, quos accendebat vulgata imperatoris Romani vox: 'ut quondam Sugambri excisi, et in Gallias trajecti forent,[m] ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum.' Igitur duas auxiliares cohortes, avaritia præfectorum incautius populantes, intercepere: spoliaque et captivos largiendo, ceteras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant; cum, tædio curarum fessus, Ostorius concessit vita, lætis hostibus, tamquam ducem haud spernendum, etsi non prælium, at certe bellum, absumsisset.

40. At Cæsar, cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium[n] suffecit. Is propere vectus, non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens præerat: auctaque et apud hostes ejus rei fama, quo venientem ducem exterrerent; atque illo augente audita,[o] ut major laus compositis, vel si duravissent, venia justior tribueretur. Silures id quoque damnum intulerant, lateque persultabant, donec accursu Didii pellerentur. Sed post captum Caractacum, præcipuus scientia rei militaris Venusius, e Jugantum civitate,[p] ut supra memoravi,[q] fidusque diu, et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartismanduam reginam matrimonio teneret; mox orto discidio, et statim bello, etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat. Sed primo tantum inter ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartismandua artibus fratrem ac propinquos Venusii intercepit. Inde accensi hostes, stimulante ignominia, ne fœminæ imperio[r] subderentur: valida et lecta

[m] *Trajecti forent*] The Sicambri were transplanted by Augustus into Gaul. Suet. Aug. 21. 'Germanos ultra Albim fluvium summovit: ex quibus Suevos et Sicambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit.' For the Sicambri see A. ii, 26.

[n] *A. Didium*] See Agr. 14.

[o] *Augente audita*] The report of the matter was heard at Rome, Didius himself extending it.

[p] *Jugantum civitate*] We should read *Brigantum*.

[q] *Supra memoravi*] In the lost books of the Annals, in which the British expedition was recorded. Of Venusius see more, H. iii, 45.

[r] *Fœminæ imperio*] I should rather believe that the Brigantes were unaccustomed to be subject to a woman, than that Tacitus here failed in his memory, as Lipsius supposed.

armis juventus regnum ejus invadunt: quod nobis prævisum, et missæ auxilio cohortes acre prælium fecere, cujus initio ambiguo, finis lætior fuit. Neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Cesius Nasica præerat: nam Didius, senectute gravis, et multa copia honorum, per ministros agere, et arcere hostem satis habebat. Hæc, quamquam a duobus Ostorio Didioque proprætoribus plures per annos gesta, conjunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent. Ad temporum ordinem redeo.

41. [A.U.C. 804. J.C. 51.] Ti. Claudio quintum, Ser. Cornelio Orphito[t] consulibus, virilis toga Neroni maturata,[u] quo capessendæ reipublicæ habilis videretur. Et Cæsar adulationibus senatus libens cessit, 'ut vicesimo ætatis anno consulatum Nero iniret: atque interim designatus, proconsulare imperium extra Urbem haberet, ac princeps juventutis[w] appellaretur.' Additum nomine ejus[v] donativum militi, congiarium plebi: et ludicro Circensium, quod adquirendis vulgi studiis edebatur, Britannicus in prætexta,[x] Nero triumphalium veste[y] transvecti sunt. Spectaret populus hunc decore imperatorio, illum puerili habitu; ac perinde fortunam utriusque præsumeret. Simul, qui centurionum tribunorumque sortem Britannici miserabantur, remoti fictis causis, et alii per speciem honoris: etiam libertorum si quis incorrupta fide, depellitur, tali occasione. Obvii inter se, Nero 'Britannicum' nomine, ille 'Domitium,' salutavere.[z] Quod, ut discordiæ initium,

[t] *Ser. Cornelio Orphito*] Tiberius Claudius Augustus for the fifth time, and Servius Corn. Orphitus were consuls A.U.C. 804. J.C. 51.

[u] *Maturata*] For it was only at the end of December that Nero entered his 14th year, at the completion of which the toga was assumed.

[w] *Princeps juventutis*] In the Museums gold and silver coins struck at that time are commonly met with, NERONI CLAVDIO DRVSO GERM. COS. DES. Nero's head is juvenile and bare. On the other side, in the middle of a shield, EQVESTER ORDO PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. And in a gold coin belonging to the Royal Museum, TI. CLAVD. CÆSAR AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. P. P. The head of Claudius is crowned with laurel. On the back, NERO CLAVD. CÆS. DRVSVS GERM. PRINC. IVVENT. The head of Nero is bare.

[v] *Nomine ejus*] Suet. Ner. 7. 'Deductus in forum tiro, populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit; indictaque decursione prætorianis, scutum sua manu prætulit: exinde patri gratias in senatu egit.' On the congiarium and the donativum, see on A. iii, 29.

[x] *In prætexta*] He was still so, because the toga virilis had not been given him before his time.

[y] *Triumphalium veste*] See on A. i, 15.

[z] *Salutavere*] The affair is a little differently related by Suet. Ner. 7. Nero showed the savageness of his nature, 'quibus primum potuit experimentis: namque Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem Ænobarbum

Agrippina, multo questu ad maritum defert; 'sperni' quippe 'adoptionem; quæque censuerint patres, jusserit populus, intra penates abrogari; ac, nisi pravitas tam infensa docentium arceatur, erupturam in publicam perniciem.' Commotus his, quasi criminibus,[a] Claudius optimum quemque educatorem filii exilio ac morte adficit, datosque a noverca custodiæ ejus imponit.

42. Nondum tamen summa moliri Agrippina audebat, ni prætoriarum cohortium cura exsolverentur Lusius Geta et Rufius Crispinus, quos Messalinæ memores, et liberis ejus devinctos credebat. Igitur 'distrahi cohortes ambitu duorum, et, si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam,' adseverante uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranium, egregiæ militaris famæ, gnarum tamen cujus sponte præficeretur. Suum quoque fastigium Agrippina extollere altius; carpento Capitolium ingredi,[b] qui mos, sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessus, venerationem augebat fœminæ, quam imperatore genitam,[c] sororem ejus qui rerum potitus sit, et conjugem, et matrem fuisse, unicum ad hunc diem exemplum est. Inter quæ præcipuus propugnator ejus Vitellius,[d] validissima gratia, ætate extrema, (adeo incertæ sunt potentium res) accusatione corripitur, deferente Junio Lupo senatore. Is crimina majestatis et cupidinem imperii objectabat: præbuissetque aures Cæsar, nisi Agrippinæ minis magis quam precibus mutatus esset, ut accusatori aqua atque igne interdiceret: hactenus Vitellius[e] voluerat.

ex consuetudine salutasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est.'

[a] *Quasi criminibus*] As if the charges were true.

[b] *Carpento—ingredi*] This is illustrated by Dio, lx, p. 686. who shows how much the ambition of Agrippina increased by the immoderate honors she attained: Καὶ ἡ μὲν ταχὺ δὲ αὐτὴ Μεσσαλῖνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλας τε, καὶ τῷ καρπεντίῳ, forte καρπέντῳ, ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν: 'Agrippina soon became a Messaline, when the senate decreed her other honors, but particularly that of using her carriage at the games.' The coins of Agrippina, with the figure of a carriage, are common.

[c] *Imperatore genitam*] Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caius Caligula, wife of Claudius; mother of Nero: the only instance up to this time of so many titles in the Roman empire. The more illustrious her blood, the worse she was.

[d] *Vitellius*] The father of the emperor Vitellius, thrice consul, and censor: he obliterated the good qualities of his early years by the shamelessness of flattery and a criminal old age. Of him we have often read before, particularly in A. vi, 32.

[e] *Hactenus Vitellius*] He had asked only for this, deprecating a heavier sentence.

43. Multa eo anno prodigia evenere.[f] Insessum diris avibus Capitolium: crebris terræ motibus prorutæ domus: ac dum latius metuitur, trepidatione vulgi, invalidus quisque obtriti. Frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Nec occulti tantum questus; sed jura reddentem Claudium circumvasere clamoribus turbidis,[g] pulsumque in extremam fori partem vi urgebant, donec militum globo infensos perrupit. Quindecim dierum alimenta Urbi non amplius superfuisse constitit: magnaque Deum benignitate, et modestia hyemis, rebus extremis subventum. At hercule olim ex Italiæ regionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabant: nec nunc infœcunditate[h] laboratur; sed Africam potius et Ægyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.

44. Eodem anno bellum inter Armenios Iberosque exortum, Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit. Genti Parthorum Vologeses imperitabat,[i] materna origine ex pellice Græca, concessu fratrum regnum adeptus. Iberos Pharasmanes vetusta possessione, Armenios frater ejus Mithridates obtinebat opibus nostris. Erat Pharasmani filius nomine Rhadamistus, decora proceritate, vi corporis insignis, et patrias artes edoctus, claraque inter accolas fama. Is 'modicum Iberiæ regnum senecta patris detineri,' ferocius crebriusque jactabat, quam ut cupidinem occultaret. Igitur Pharasmanes juvenem potentiæ promtæ,[k] et studio popularium accinctum, vergentibus jam annis suis metuens, aliam ad spem trahere, et 'Armeniam' ostentare, 'pulsis Parthis datam Mithridati a semet' memorando: sed 'vim differendam, et potiorem dolum, quo incautum opprimerent.' Ita Rhadamistus,

[f] *Prodigia evenere*] Amidst so many, one happened omitted by Tacitus, but thus stated by Plin. ii, 31. 'Trinos soles nostra ætas vidit divo Claudio Principe, consulatu ejus, Cornelio Orphito collega.' See also Dio, lx, p. 687.

[g] *Clamoribus turbidis*] Suet. Claud. 18: 'Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates, detentus quondam medio foro a turba, conviciisque ac simul fragminibus panis ita instratus, ut ægre nec nisi postico evadere in Palatium valuerit; nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus.'

[h] *Nec — infœcunditate*] But by luxury, which drained Italy of its villas, its porticoes, its ponds, its baths; and by the plans of Augustus, who had chosen Africa, and especially Egypt, to provide the city with corn. See Suet. Aug. 18.

[i] *Vologeses imperitabat*] Of Vologeses we have already spoken in ch. 14. of Pharasmanes and Mithridates in A. xi, 8.

[k] *Potentiæ promtæ*] Vit. Agr. 35. 'Promta tamen omnibus arma, ac si res poscat, exercitus.'

simulata adversus patrem discordia, tamquam novercæ odiis impar, pergit ad patruum: multaque ab eo comitate in speciem liberum cultus, primores Armeniorum ad res novas inlicit, ignaro et ornante insuper Mithridate.

45. Reconciliationis specie adsumta, regressus ad patrem, 'quæ fraude confici potuerint, promta' nuntiat, 'cetera armis exsequenda.' Interim Pharasmanes belli causas confingit: 'prælianti sibi adversus regem Albanorum, et Romanos auxilio vocanti, fratrem adversatum; eamque injuriam excidio ipsius ultum iturum.' Simul magnas copias filio tradidit. Ille inruptione subita territum, exutumque campis Mithridaten, compulit in castellum Gorneas,[l] tutum loco ac præsidio militum, queis Cælius Pollio præfectus, centurio Casperius præerat. Nihil tam ignarum barbaris, quam machinamenta et astus oppugnationum: at nobis ea pars militiæ maxime gnara est. Ita Rhadamistus, frustra vel cum damno tentatis munitionibus, obsidium incipit: et cum vis negligeretur, avaritiam præfecti[m] emercatur, obtestante Casperio, ne socius rex, ne Armenia, donum populi Romani, scelere et pecunia verterentur. Postremo, quia multitudinem hostium Pollio, jussa patris Rhadamistus obtendebant, pactus inducias, abscedit; ut nisi Pharasmanen bello absterruisset, C. Ummidium Quadratum[n] præsidem Syriæ doceret, quo in statu Armeniæ forent.

46. Digressu centurionis, velut custode exsolutus præfectus, hortari Mithridaten ad sanciendum fœdus; 'conjunctionem fratrum, ac priorem ætate Pharasmanen, et cetera necessitudinum nomina' referens, 'quod filiam ejus in matrimonio haberet; quod ipse Rhadamisto socer esset. Non abnuere pacem Iberos, quamquam in tempore validiores; et satis cognitam Armeniorum perfidiam: nec aliud præsidii, quam castellum commeatu egenum: ne dubitaret armis incruentas conditiones malle.'[o] Cunctante ad ea Mithridate, et suspectis præfecti consiliis, quod pellicem re-

[l] *Castellum Gorneas*] That castle was situated between the fountains of the Araxes and the Euphrates, to the east of Artaxata. Some think that Gorneas is the same as Garnace, of which Ptolemy writes, Armenia, v, 7. Other mountain garrisons, the repositories of the royal treasures, are mentioned by Strabo, xi, p. 529: γαζοφυλάκια, φρούρια ὀρεινά.

[m] *Præfecti*] Cælius Pollio.

[n] *C. Ummidium Quadratum*] His name is greatly corrupted in the Mss.

[o] *Armis—malle*] So also Horace, Sat. ii, 8. 79. 'Nullos his mallem ludos spectasse.'

giam polluerat,[p] inque omnem libidinem venalis habebatur; Casperius interim ad Pharasmanen pervadit, 'utque Iberi obsidio decedant,' expostulat. Ille propalam incerta, et sæpius molliora respondens, secretis nuntiis monet Rhadamistum, 'oppugnationem quoquo modo celerare.' Augetur flagitii merces, et Pollio occulta corruptione impellit milites, ut 'pacem' flagitarent, 'seque præsidio abituros' minitarentur. Qua necessitate, Mithridates diem locumque fœderi accepit, castelloque egreditur.

47. Ac primo Rhadamistus in amplexus ejus effusus, simulare obsequium, 'socerum' ac 'parentem' appellare. Adjicit jusjurandum, 'non ferro, non veneno vim allaturum:' simul in lucum propinquum trahit, 'provisum illic sacrificium imperatum' dictitans, 'ut Diis testibus pax firmaretur.' Mos est regibus, quotiens in societatem coeant, implicare dextras, pollicesque inter se vincire, nodoque præstringere: mox, ubi sanguis in artus extremos se effuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt, atque invicem lambunt: id fœdus arcanum[q] habetur, quasi mutuo cruore sacratum. Sed tunc, qui ea vincula admovebat, decidisse simulans, genua Mithridatis invadit, ipsumque prosternit: simulque concursu plurium injiciuntur catenæ, ac compede, quod dedecorum barbaris, trahebatur: moxque vulgus, duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat. Et erant contra, qui tantam fortunæ commutationem miserarentur; secutaque cum parvis liberis conjux cuncta lamentatione complebat. Diversis et contectis vehiculis abduntur, dum Pharasmanis jussa exquirerentur. Illi cupido regni fratre et filia potior,[r] animusque sceleribus paratus: visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficerentur. Et Rhadamistus, quasi jurisjurandi memor, non ferrum, non venenum in sororem et patruum expromit; sed projectos in humum, et veste multa gravique opertos necat. Filii quoque Mithridatis, quod cædibus parentum inlacrymaverant, trucidati sunt.

48. At Quadratus, cognoscens proditum Mithridaten, et regnum ab interfectoribus obtineri, vocat consilium, docet

[p] *Polluerat*] And on this account, says Huet, he feared and was feared.

[q] *Fœdus arcanum*] Secret indeed and singular, but very ancient and well known to the eastern nations. See this among the Arabians in Herod. iii, 8. among the Scythians in Lucian, Toxaris, 37. vol. ii, p. 545. and in Herod. iv, 70. A bloody, but not so inhuman an instance, is recorded in Gen. xv, 9. Jerem. xxxiv, 18.

[r] *Fratre—potior*] Lust of power was more powerful than the calls of a brother, and a daughter, his brother's wife.

acta, et an ulcisceretur consultat. Paucis decus publicum curæ: plures tuta disserunt: 'Omne scelus externum cum lætitia habendum. Semina etiam odiorum jacienda, ut sæpe Principes Romani eamdem Armeniam, specie largitionis, turbandis barbarorum animis præbuerint. Potiretur Rhadamistus male partis, dum invisus, infamis; quando id magis ex usu,[s] quam si cum gloria adeptus foret.' In hanc sententiam itum. Ne tamen annuisse facinori viderentur, et diversa Cæsar præciperet, missi ad Pharasmanen nuntii, ut abscederet a finibus Armeniis, filiumque abstraheret.

49. Erat Cappadociæ procurator Julius Pelignus, ignavi animi, et deridiculo corporis juxta despiciendus; sed Claudio perquam familiaris, cum privatus olim[t] conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret. Is Pelignus, auxiliis provincialium contractis, tamquam recuperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis quam hostes prædatur, abscessu suorum, et incursantibus barbaris, præsidii egens, ad Rhadamistum venit: donisque ejus evictus, ultro 'regium insigne sumere' cohortatur; sumentique adest auctor et satelles. Quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum, ne ceteri[u] quoque ex Peligno conjectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione mittitur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. Igitur propere montem Taurum transgressus, moderatione plura quam vi composuerat; cum 'redire in Syriam' jubetur, 'ne initium belli adversus Parthos exsisteret.'

50. Nam Vologeses,[v] casum invadendæ Armeniæ obvenisse ratus, quam a majoribus suis possessam, externus rex flagitio obtineret, contrahit copias, fratremque Tiridaten deducere in regnum parat; ne qua pars domus sine imperio ageret. Incessu Parthorum, sine acie pulsi Iberi; urbesque Armeniorum Artaxata et Tigranocerta[x] jugum

[s] *Ex usu*] Since that would be more advantageous to the Romans, than if he had acquired Armenia with glory to himself: for they might, as they pleased, demand back the government of Armenia, and revenge his crimes.

[t] *Privatus olim*] Claudius, while in private life, 'abjecta spe dignitatis, ad otium concessit, modo in hortis et suburbana domo, modo in Campaniæ secessu delitescens: atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum, super veterem segnitiæ notam, ebrietatis quoque et aleæ infamiam subiit.' Suet. Claud. 5.

[u] *Ne ceteri*] Lest the rest of the Romans should resemble Pelignus, and seem equally base.

[v] *Vologeses*] A Parthian king, of whom often before.

[x] *Artaxata, Tigranocerta*] Artaxata, the capital of Armenia: A. ii, 56. Tigranocerta, i. e. the city of Tigranes,

accepere. Deinde atrox hyems, seu parum provisi commeatus, et orta ex utroque tabes, perpellunt Vologesen omittere præsentia; vacuamque rursus Armeniam Rhadamistus invasit, truculentior quam antea, tamquam adversus defectores et in tempore rebellaturos. Atque illi, quamvis servitio sueti, patientiam abrumpunt, armisque regiam circumveniunt.

51. Nec aliud Rhadamisto subsidium fuit, quam pernicitas equorum, queis seque et conjugem abstulit. Sed conjux gravida, primam utcumque fugam, ob metum hostilem et mariti caritatem, toleravit: post, festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus, et viscera vibrantur, orare 'ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eximeretur.' Ille primo amplecti, adlevare, adhortari, modo virtutem admirans, modo timore æger, ne quis relicta potiretur. Postremo, violentia amoris, et facinorum non rudis, destringit acinacem, vulneratamque ripam ad Araxis[y] trahit, flumini tradit, ne corpus etiam auferretur. Ipse præceps Iberos ad patrium regnum pervadit. Interim Zenobiam (id mulieri nomen) placida illuvie, spirantem, ac vitæ manifestam, advertere pastores; et dignitate formæ haud degenerem reputantes, obligant vulnus, agrestia medicamina adhibent; cognitoque nomine et casu, in urbem Artaxata ferunt: unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridaten, comiterque excepta, cultu regio habita est.

52. [A.U.C. 805. J.C. 52.] Fausto Sulla, Salvio Othone[z] consulibus, Furius Scribonianus in exilium agitur, quasi 'finem Principis per Chaldæos scrutaretur:' adnectebatur crimini, 'Junia mater ejus,' ut 'casus prioris' (nam relegata erat) 'impatiens.' Pater Scriboniani Camillus arma per Dalmatiam moverat:[a] idque ad clementiam trahebat Cæsar, quod stirpem hostilem iterum conservaret. Neque tamen exuli longa posthac vita fuit: morte fortuita, an per venenum extinctus esset, ut quisque credidit, vulgavere. 'De mathematicis[b] Italia pellendis' factum sena-

as the name imports, stood where is now *Amadie*.

[y] *Araxis*] Araxes is now called *Aras*, of which Pliny writes, vi, 9. 'Araxes eodem monte, quo Euphrates, vi. mill. passuum intervallo: auctusque amne Musi, et ipse (ut plures existimavere) a Cyro [Kur] defertur in Caspium mare.'

[z] *Salvio Othone*] P. Cornelius Sulla Faustus and L. Salvius Otho Titianus entered on their consulate A.U.C. 805. J.C. 52.

[a] *Arma—moverat*] This rebellion of Camillus Scribonianus was put an end to on the fifth day.

[b] *De mathematicis*] The Chaldeans and Magi. An annoyance often put

tusconsultum, atrox et irritum. Laudati dehinc oratione Principis, 'qui ob angustias familiares[c] ordine senatorio sponte cederent;' motique qui remanendo impudentiam paupertati adjicerent.

53. Inter quæ refertur ad patres 'de pœna fœminarum, quæ servis conjungerentur:' statuiturque, 'ut, ignaro domino, ad id prolapsa,[d] in servitute; sin consensisset, pro liberta haberetur.' Pallanti, quem 'repertorem ejus relationis' ediderat Cæsar, 'prætoria insignia, et centies quinquagies sestertium'[e] censuit consul designatus Barea Soranus: additum a Scipione Cornelio, 'grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiæ ortus,[f] veterrimam nobilitatem usui publico postponeret, seque inter ministros Principis haberi sineret.' Adseveravit Claudius, 'contentum honore Pallantem, intra priorem paupertatem subsistere.' Et fixum est ære publico senatusconsultum,[g] quo libertinus, sestertii ter millies[h] possessor, antiquæ parcimoniæ laudibus cumulabatur.

54. At non frater ejus, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus,[i] et cuncta

down, but always breaking out again, through the superstition of men, who are indifferent to things present, but desirous of knowing the future. See more in H. i, 22.

[c] *Angustias familiares*] Augustus had rated the qualification of a senator at 'duodecies sestertium,' 10,000*l*. Suet. Aug. 41.

[d] *Ignaro—prolapsa*] In the prevailing declension of morals, it was decreed that a woman, who had condescended to such a passion without the knowlege of the master of the slave, should live in servitude, or be a maid-servant; but that a woman, who connected herself with a slave with the consent of the master, should be put on the footing of a freedwoman. So also, when lust and luxury were again rife, Vespasian 'auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quæ se alieno servo junxisset, ancilla haberetur,' Suet. Vespas. 11.

[e] *Centies quinquagies sestertium*] 125,000*l*. A monument of senatorial adulation and imperial imbecility Pliny saw (Ep. vii, 29.) raised to Pallas with this inscription: SENATVS. OB. FIDEM. PIETATEMQVE. ERGA. PATRONOS. ORNAMENTA. PRAETORIA. DECREVIT. ET. SESTERTIVM. CENTIES. QVINQVAGIES. CVJVS. HONORE. CONTENTVS. FVIT.

[f] *Regibus Arcadiæ ortus*] It has always been the desire of upstart men to assume high, if not royal birth. Every age has had its Pallases. With spirit, but with truth, writes Pliny, a bold inveigher against vice, exposing such characters, xxxv, 18. 'Hoc est insigne venalitiis gregibus, opprobriumque insolentis fortunæ: quod et nos adeo rerum potiri vidimus, ut prætoria quoque ornamenta decerni a senatu, jubente Agrippina Cl. Cæsaris, viderimus libertis; tantumque non cum laureatis fascibus remitti illo, unde cretatis pedibus advenissent.'

[g] *Senatusconsultum*] Almost the whole of this singular decree is recited by Pliny, Epist. viii, 6. an epistle well worth reading.

[h] *Sestertii ter millies*] 2,500,000*l*.

[i] *Judææ impositus*] On this matter there is a great disagreement between Tacitus and Josephus, well known for the discussions on it of learned men.

malefacta sibi impune ratus, tanta potentia subnixo. Sane præbuerant Judæi speciem motus, orta seditione,[k] postquam, cognita cæde ejus, haud obtemperatum esset: manebat metus, ne quis principum eadem imperitaret. Atque interim Felix intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat, æmulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, cui pars provinciæ habebatur: ita divisis, ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent, discordes olim, et tum contemtu regentium minus coercitis odiis. Igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias, et aliquando præliis congredi, spoliaque et prædas ad procuratores referre. Hique primo lætari, mox gliscente pernicie, cum arma militum interjecissent, cæsi milites: arsissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus, Syriæ rector, subvenisset.[l] Nec diu adversus Judæos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum, quin capite pœnas luerent: Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant, quia Claudius, causis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem inter judices ostentavit,[m] receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterrerentur: damnatusque flagitiorum, quæ duo deliquerant, Cumanus; et quies provinciæ reddita.

55. Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum,[n] sæpe et alias commotæ, tunc Trosobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere: atque inde decursu in littora aut urbes, vim cultoribus et oppidanis, ac plerumque in mercatores et navicularios[o] aude-

[k] *Orta seditione*] I think something here is lost, either through negligence or through scruples. We may supply the text in this manner: *Sane præbuerant Judæi speciem motus, orta seditione ob Caii Cæsaris effigiem in templo locandam; postquam, cognita cæde ejus, haud obtemperatum esset, manebat metus ne quis Principum eadem imperitaret.*

[l] *Subvenisset*] On the disagreement of the governors of Judea, and the breaking out of war in that province, Ummidius Quadratus, ruler of Syria, interposed. We saw in ch. 23. the Jews and Itureans united to Syria.

[m] *Ostentavit*] Quadratus, in servile adulation to Pallas, placed his brother Felix, though an object of accusation and of judgment, on the tribunal among the judges, to shelter him from his accusers. Hence Cumanus was condemned for crimes, which two persons had committed, himself and Felix. This is too clearly related to allow us to think that Josephus has not committed the error of writing confusedly and hastily: Antiq. Jud. xx. 5—7.

[n] *Clitarum cognomentum*] Of these people of Cilicia Aspera something was said in A. vi, 41.

[o] *Mercatores et navicularios*] Callistratus, Digest. lib. l, tit. 6. de jure immunitatis, leg. 5. 'Negotiatores, qui annonam Urbis adjuvant, item navicularii, qui annonæ Urbis serviunt, immunitatem a muneribus publi-

bant. Obsessaque civitas Anemuriensis,[p] et missi e Syria in subsidium equites, cum præfecto Curtio Severo, turbantur: quod duri circum loci,[q] peditibusque ad pugnam idonei, equestre prælium haud patiebantur. Dein rex ejus oræ Antiochus,[r] blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Trosoboro paucisque primoribus interfectis, ceteros clementia composuit.

56. Sub idem tempus, inter lacum Fucinum[s] amnemque Lirin,[t] perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis[u] a pluribus viseretur, lacu in ipso navale prælium[v] adornatur; ut quondam Augustus,[x] structo cis Tiberim stagno,[y] sed levi-

cis consequuntur, quamdiu in ejusmodi actu sunt.' *Cultoribus*, i. e. 'in cultores.'

[p] *Anemuriensis*] Anemurium, a maritime city of Cilicia; *Anemur*, or *Estenmur*.

[q] *Duri circum loci*] On account of the mountains. Hence this part of Cilicia is called Τραχεῖα, 'rough.'

[r] *Rex ejus oræ Antiochus*] Antiochus IV. king of Commagena. He held a part also of Cilicia Aspera, as appears from a famous brass coin, which was given to the public by Haym, in Tesoro Britannico, p. 110, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ, with the head of Antiochus surrounded with a diadem: on the back is the crab-fish in laurel ΛΑΚΑΝΑΤΩΝ. Lacanatis was a part of upper Cilicia, where was afterwards Neronias, then Irenopolis, now *Irenopoli*, of which Theodoret often makes mention in his Ecclesiastical History. The same coin, but somewhat different, is met with in Pellerin's Recueil de Médailles de Rois, Tab. xiv, p. 126. He published also two others, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ and ΛΥΚΑΟΝΩΝ, by which it appears that the isle of Elæusa, called Sebaste, and Lycaonia, were added by the emperors to the kingdom of Antiochus.

[s] *Fucinum*] Now *Lago di Celano*, in the province of Abruzzo.

[t] *Amnemque Lirin*] It is now called *Garigliano*.

[u] *Magnificentia operis*] This is illustrated by Suet. Claud. 20. 'Fucinum aggressus est, non minus compendii spe, quam gloriæ, cum quidam privato sumtu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi siccati agri concederentur. Per tria autem passuum millia, partim effosso monte, partim exciso, canalem absolvit ægre, et post undecim annos, quamvis continuis triginta hominum millibus sine intermissione operantibus.' Pliny, who had seen it himself, is full of its praises, xxxvi. 15. n. 11. 'Ejusdem Claudii inter maxime memoranda equidem duxerim, quamvis destitutum successoris odio, montem perfossum ad lacum Fucinum emittendum, inenarrabili profecto impendio, et operarum multitudine per tot annos: cum aut corrivatio aquarum, qua terrenus mons erat, egereretur in vertice machinis, aut silex cæderetur, omniaque intus in tenebris fierent, quæ neque concipi animo, nisi ab iis qui videre, neque humano sermone enarrari possunt.'

[v] *Navale prælium*] See Suet. Claud. 21. and Dio, lx, p. 687.

[x] *Ut quondam Augustus*] The immense multitude of spectators is mentioned by Suet. Aug. 43.

[y] *Structo—stagno*] In the fourteenth district of the city beyond the Tiber, hence called *Trastevere*. Why Tacitus said 'cis Tiberim,' I do not see, unless he lived himself in the fourteenth district. Of this lake or 'naumachia' of Augustus, remnants are still seen in the place now called *la Vigna delle Monache di S. Caterina da Siena*.

bus navigiis, et minore copia ediderat.[a] Claudius triremes quadriremesque et undeviginti hominum millia armavit; cincto ratibus ambitu,[b] ne vaga effugia forent; ac tamen spatium amplexus, ad vim remigii, gubernantium artes, impetusque navium, et prælio solita. In ratibus prætoriarum cohortium manipuli turmæque adstiterant, antepositis propugnaculis, ex queis catapultæ balistæque tenderentur. Reliqua lacus classiarii[b] tectis navibus obtinebant. Ripas et colles, ac montium edita in modum theatri, multitudo innumera complevit proximis e municipiis, et alii Urbe ex ipsa,[c] visendi cupidine, aut officio in Principem. Ipse insigni paludamento,[d] neque procul Agrippina chlamyde aurata,[e] præsedere. Pugnatum, quamquam inter sontes, fortium virorum animo: ac post multum vulnerum, occidioni exemti sunt.

[a] *Ediderat*] A grand instance this of the magnificence of the Romans in exhibiting their games.

[a] *Cincto—ambitu*] Raphael Fabretti, who has written a very learned description of the outlet of the lake Fucinus, says that the circumference of the lake, reckoning along the borders of the bays and promontories running out into it, is thirty miles and more: that the circumference, taking the direct circle, is twenty-six and a little more. To prevent the malefactors who were to fight from absconding, as well as to form a circle, the circumference of the lake was surrounded with boats: in these boats were present the bands of the pretorian cohorts, and before them were raised redoubts, from which catapults and cross-bows were ranged, to despatch such malefactors as should refuse to fight, and to augment the vigor of the battle. Of these rafts see more in A. xv, 37.

[b] *Classiarii*] The expositors of Tacitus here disagree greatly. Very many contend that these mariners with the covered ships occupied the rest of the lake, between the banks and the rafts of the pretorian troops, so that there were three rows; the first of the covered ships with the mariners, the second of the rafts with the pretorian troops, the third of the boats of three and four oars, with the malefactors who were to fight. But certainly the best commentators understand it otherwise, and admit only two rows; the one of the rafts in the circumference, the other of the boats of three or four oars, with which the engagement was to take place. These ships, covered and decked, amounted to one hundred: the battle took place on the decks, as appears from the ancient monuments, and particularly from the Herculanean paintings; Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano, vol. i, Tab. 46 and 47. This is illustrated by Pliny, vii, 56. 'Tectas longas invenere Thasii: antea ex prora tantum et puppi pugnabatur.' These covered ships were called by the Greeks *καταστρώματα*, Thucyd. vii, 30. or *κατάφρακτοι νῆες*, Plut. Pyrrh. p. 391. Hence even from the term 'covered ships,' the error of the former opinion is manifest. Besides, if there were mariners in the covered ships, and the first row; who worked the ships of three and four oars, and the other ships of the combatants?

[c] *Urbe ex ipsa*] Rome was fifty-two miles from it.

[d] *Insigni paludamento*] A military vest. Στρατιωτικῶς: Dio, lx, p. 687.

[e] *Chlamyde aurata*] Rather of gold. Plin. xxxiii, 3. § 19. 'Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii Principis, edente eo navalis prælii spectaculum, assidentem ei, indutam paludamento, auro textili sine alia materie.'

57. Sed perfecto spectaculo, apertum aquarum iter. Incuria operis manifesta fuit, haud satis depressi ad lacus ima vel media.[f] Eoque, tempore interjecto, altius effossi specus; et contrahendæ rursus multitudini, gladiatorum spectaculum editur, inditis pontibus[g] pedestrem ad pugnam. Quin et convivium effluvio lacus appositum magna formidine cunctos adfecit; quia vis aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulsis ulterioribus,[h] aut fragore et sonitu exterritis. Simul Agrippina, trepidatione Principis usa, ministrum operis Narcissum incusat[i] 'cupidinis ac prædarum:' nec ille reticet, 'impotentiam muliebrem nimiasque spes ejus'[k] arguens.

58. [A.U.C. 806. J.C. 53.] D. Junio, Q. Haterio[l] consulibus, sedecim annos natus[m] Nero Octaviam, Cæsaris filiam, in matrimonium accepit: utque studiis honestis et eloquentiæ gloria nitesceret; causa Iliensium[n] sus-

[f] *Ad—media*] After the naval engagement, a great and most useful part of the spectacle still remained, the draining of the lake Fucinus. This was a matter of labor for 11 years, and at great expense was the mountain partly dug and partly cut for three miles. But then there was a manifest carelessness in the work, as the lower or middle parts of the lake were found too low to admit the water being drawn into the Liris by an open passage. I would not omit with Muretus *ima vel*, nor correct with Heinsius *lacunæ media*: if any thing should be rejected, it is *vel media*. But in truth both the middle, and some other lower parts might have been too low to admit of the lake being intirely exhausted. So Huet explains it: 'non satis excavatus fuerat lacus in medio, et in iis locis, quæ ab effluvio remotiora erant.' Thus the outlet of the water needed farther excavation; and the traces of the new work were seen by Fabretti, as he states himself l. c. p. 395.

[g] *Inditis pontibus*] Having in this imitated Caius.

[h] *Convulsis interioribus*] This passage is corrected without reason. Huet rightly says: 'Nihil mutandum. Convulsa fuerant ulteriora vi aquarum; vel exterriti convivæ, ne convellerentur, timebant.' Suet. Claud. 32. 'Convivatus et super emissarium Fucini lacus, ac pæne submersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset.'

[i] *Narcissum incusat*] Hated by Agrippina for his devotion to Ælia Petina: ch. 1. She accuses him 'cupidinis ac prædarum,' as if he had spent a part of the expense on himself: taking this mode of ruining him, to prevent the exposure of her own deceit. See Dio, lx, p. 687.

[k] *Nimiasque spes ejus*] As having already anticipated her own and Nero's fortune.

[l] *Q. Haterio*] Decimus Junius Silanus and Quintus Haterius Antoninus were consuls A.U.C. 806. J.C. 53.

[m] *Sedecim annos natus*] That is, in the commencement of his 16th year; for he was born 18 Kal. Jan. A.U.C. 790.

[n] *Iliensium*] Of them see on A. iv, 55. Then was struck the coin, which Harduin mentions, Select. Opp. p. 74. ΙΛΙΕΩΝ. ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟϹ. The representation of the river Scamander in a recumbent posture. On the other side, ΝΕΡΩΝ. ΒΡΕΤΑΝ. ΚΑΙΣ.: 'Nero and Britannicus Cæsars.' In this way Nero was already usually put before Britannicus. That Nero two years before had undertaken those causes, we learn from Suet. Ner. 7.

cepta, 'Romanum Troja demissum, et Juliæ stirpis auctorem Æneam,' aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde exsecutus, perpetrat 'ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur.'[o] Eodem oratore, Bononiensi coloniæ[p] igni haustæ subventum centies sestertii[q] largitione. Redditur Rhodiis libertas,[r] ademta sæpe aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant, aut domi seditione deliquerant: tributumque Apamensibus,[s] terræ motu convulsis, in quinquennium remissum.

59. At Claudius sævissima quæque promere adigebatur ejusdem Agrippinæ artibus, quæ Statilium Taurum,[t] opibus inlustrem, hortis ejus inhians, pervertit, accusante Tarquitio Prisco. Legatus is Tauri, Africam imperio proconsulari regentis, postquam revenerant, pauca 'repetundarum crimina,' ceterum 'magicas superstitiones' objectabat. Nec ille diutius falsum accusatorem indignasque sordes perpessus, vim vitæ suæ attulit, ante sententiam senatus. Tarquitius[u] tamen curia exactus est:

'Apud eumdem [Claudium] consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, et pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Græce, verba fecit.' This was a mark of ready talent in a young man: but princes have many advantages.

[o] *Solverentur*] Hence Suet. Claud. 25. 'Iliensibus, quasi Romanæ gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit; recitata vetere epistola Græca senatus populique Romani Seleuco regi, amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes præstitisset.'

[p] *Bononiensi coloniæ*] Now *Bologna*. Of which Plin. iii, 15. 'Intus [colonia] Bononia, Felsina vocitata, cum princeps Etruriæ esset.'

[q] *Centies sestertii*] 83,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[r] *Redditur—libertas*] It was very recently taken away by Claudius.

[s] *Apamensibus*] As there are many places of the name of Apamea, the place would be ambiguous, had we not the assistance of coins. From them it appears, that this Apamea is the Phrygian one, which is sometimes called ΑΠΑΜΕΙΑ ΠΡΟϹ ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΝ, 'Apamea at the Mæander:' at other times, ΑΠΑΜΕΙΑ ΚΙΒΩΤΟϹ ΜΑΡϹΥΑϹ, because it was situated at the Mæander and Marsyas, and was formerly called Cibotos. See Strab. xii, p. 567. Liv. xxxviii, 13. Plin. v, 29. Harduin, Select. Opp. 24, produces two coins, which testify the gratitude of the Apamensians: one of Claudius, ΑΠΑΜΕΙΑΣ ΜΑΙΑΝΔ. i.e. 'Mæander of Apamea:' the other of Nero with his mother Agrippina: ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ. ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΔΟΥ. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ, 'The Apamensians under Marius Cordus. The commonalty of Phrygia.'

[t] *Statilium Taurum*] We saw one of the same name, but a different person, A. vi, 11. In what part of the city were the gardens of Statilius Taurus, is not known: perhaps by the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, from the ruins of which grew the mountain now called *Monte Citorio*.

[u] *Tarquitius*] Afterwards he was proconsul of Bithynia, and was himself found guilty of extortion, as will be said on A. xiv, 46. The Mss. read badly, *Tarquinius*.

quod patres, odio delatoris, contra ambitum Agrippinæ pervicere.

60. Eodem anno sæpius audita vox Principis 'parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis[v] judicatarum, ac si ipse statuisset.' Ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum plenius quam antea et uberius. Nam divus Augustus, 'apud equestres,[w] qui Ægypto præsiderent, lege agi, decretaque eorum proinde haberi' jusserat, 'ac si magistratus Romani constituissent:' mox alias per provincias, et in Urbe pleraque concessa sunt, quæ olim a prætoribus noscebantur. Claudius omne jus tradidit, de quo toties seditione aut armis certatum, cum Semproniis rogationibus[y] equester ordo in possessione judiciorum locaretur; aut rursum Serviliæ leges[z] senatui judicia redderent; Mariusque et Sulla olim de eo vel præcipue bellarent. Sed tunc ordinum diversa studia: et quæ vicerant, publice valebant. C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus[a] primi Cæsaris opibus potuere conditiones pacis et arbitria belli tractare. Matios

[v] *A procuratoribus suis*] Commissioners were sent by the Cæsars into all their provinces and those of the people, to collect the public revenues, and to make the requisite expenditure. They received also orders to go into the provinces on certain terms. For these and other matters pertaining to the commissioners, see Dio, liii, p. 506.

[w] *Apud equestres*] Generally it is *equites*: but the word *equestres* was much used in the age of Tacitus. Why, and to what knights Augustus restricted Egypt, has been stated above on A. ii, 59.

[y] *Semproniis rogationibus*] A.U.C. 632. Caius Sempr. Gracchus added 300 knights to the same number of senators, and vested in that body all judicial authority. See Plut. Gracch. p. 837.

[z] *Serviliæ leges*] A.U.C. 648. Q. Servilius Cæpio the consul brought in the judiciary law, which restored the judicial authority to the senate. This matter was a cause of war between Marius and Sylla: Marius favored the knights, Sylla the senate: and at length, A.U.C. 674, Sylla, consul for the second time, brought in a law, by which the judicial power was granted to the senate alone. The party that prevailed called itself the public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth: but A.U.C. 684, L. Aurelius Cotta, the pretor, moved before the people, that the senators, knights, and tribunes of the treasury should pass sentence. This was a little altered by Cn. Pompey, consul for the second time A.U.C. 699, who published a law, by which those three ranks were permitted to pass sentence, but still that the judges should be such as had a very ample income and had been chosen by the centuries. Cæsar, when dictator, 'judicia ad duo genera judicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii: tribunos ærarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit,' Suet. Jul. 'Divo Augusto [judicum] decurias ordinante major pars judicum in ferreo annulo fuit: iique non equites, sed judices vocabantur,' Plin. xxxiii, 1, 7. who adds much more concerning this matter. See Antony Augustin de Legg. p. 41.

[a] *C. Oppius et C. Balbus*] Roman knights, and friends of Julius Cæsar.

posthac et Vedios,[b] et cetera equitum[c] Romanorum prævalida nomina, referre nihil attinuerit; cum Claudius libertos, quos rei familiari præfecerat, sibique et legibus adæquaverit.[d]

61. Retulit dein 'de immunitate Cois tribuenda:'[e] multaque 'super antiquitate eorum' memoravit: 'Argivos, vel Cœum Latonæ parentem,[f] vetustissimos insulæ cultores: mox adventu Æsculapii[g] artem medendi inlatam, maximeque inter posteros ejus[h] celebrem fuisse,' nomina singulorum referens, et quibus quisque ætatibus viguissent. Quinetiam dixit 'Xenophontem,'[i] cujus scientia

[b] *Matios—Vedios*] Friends of Augustus. Plin. xii, 2. 'Primus C. Matius ex equestri ordine, divi Augusti amicus, invenit nemora tonsilia intra hos 80 annos,' i. e. A.U.C. 750. In Plin. ix, 23. is mentioned 'inter documenta sævitiæ Vedius Pollio, eques Romanus, ex amicis divi Augusti, vivariis earum, [murænarum,] immergens damnata mancipia, non tamquam ad hoc feris terrarum non sufficientibus, sed quia in alio genere totum pariter hominem distrahi, spectari non poterat.' It was shameful in Augustus to have such friends, and to have so lightly censured so foul a cruelty: Sen. de Ira, iii, 40. With great truth said Seneca, de Clem. i, 18. 'Quis non Vedium Pollionem pejus oderat, quam servi sui, quod murænas sanguine humano saginabat; et eos, qui se aliquid offenderant, in vivarium quid aliud quam serpentium, abjici jubebat? O hominem mille mortibus dignum! sive devorandos servos objiciebat murænis, quas esurus erat, sive in hoc tantum illas alebat, ut sic aleret. Quemadmodum domini crudeles tota civitate commonstrantur, invisique et detestabiles sunt; ita regum et injuria latius patet, et infamia, atque odium seculis traditur. Quanto autem non nasci fuit, quam numerari inter publico malo natos!'

[c] *Cetera equitum*] As the Mecænates, the Sallustii, the Sejani, &c.

[d] *Adæquaverit*] See Suet. Claud. 29.

[e] *Cois tribuenda*] Cos, an island of the Ægean, famous for its citizen Hippocrates, is now called *Stanco*.

[f] *Latonæ parentem*] Cœus, the son of Terra and Titan, of whom Virg. G. i, 278. 'Tum partu Terra nefando Cœumque, Iapetumque creat, sævumque Typhoea, Et conjuratos cœlum rescindere fratres.' Of Cœus, Κοίου, the father of Latona, Hesiod also made mention in Theog. 404. Hence in Plin. v, 31, 36. Cos is also called Cea. Perhaps *Cœa* would be a better reading. That the Argives even before the Trojan war inhabited this island, is clear from Homer, and Strabo, xii, p. 573.

[g] *Adventu Æsculapii*] Hence the frequent memorial of him in the coins of the Coans.

[h] *Posteros ejus*] Of whom the greatest was Hippocrates, a person of great reputation not only among the sick, but among all who value talent and humanity. Amid his numerous virtues, I would mention particularly that he predicted a pestilence while coming from Illyricum, and sent his pupils about the cities to give help: 'quod ob meritum honores illi, quos Herculi, decrevit Græcia,' Plin. vii, 37. See more in xxix, 1.

[i] *Xenophontem*] Pellerin, in his Recueil de Médailles de Rois, p. 206, has published a brazen coin of this physician. On one side is the bare head of Xenophon, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ: on the other, the goddess Health in a standing posture holds a serpent, ΚΩΙΩΝ. It seems to have been struck by the Coans by way of gratitude.

ipse uteretur, eadem familia[k] ortum: precibusque ejus dandum, ut omni tributo vacui in posterum Coi,[l] sacram et tantum Dei ministram[l] insulam colerent.' Neque dubium habetur, multa eorumdem in populum Romanum merita[m] sociasque victorias[n] potuisse tradi. Sed Claudius facilitate solita, quod uni concesserat, nullis extrinsecus adjumentis velavit.

62. At Byzantii,[o] data dicendi copia, cum 'magnitudinem onerum' apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere; orsi 'a fœdere, quod nobiscum icerant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui, ut degeneri, Pseudophilippi[p] vocabulum impositum.' Missas posthac[q] copias in Antiochum,[r] Persen,[s] Aristonicum,[t] et piratico bello[u] adjutum Antonium,' memorabant; 'quæque Sullæ, aut Lucullo, aut Pompeio obtulissent.' Mox 'recentia in Cæsares merita,[v] quando ea loca insiderent, quæ transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatu[x] opportuna forent.'

63. Namque arctissimo inter Europam Asiamque di-

[k] *Eadem familia*] The family of Æsculapius, from whom Hippocrates himself was said to be the 14th.

[l] *Dei ministram*] And dedicated only to the service of Æsculapius.

[m] *In p. R. merita*] Of these before in A. iv, 14.

[n] *Sociasque victorias*] For the alliance of the Coans with Lucullus, see Plut. Lucull. p. 493. To praise this would have been worthy of a prince: but Claudius had a bad custom of displaying his foreign erudition.

[o] *Byzantii*] Byzantium, now *Constantinople*. There are a good many coins ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ, with young tunnies.

[p] *Pseudophilippi*] This was Andriscus, a man of the lowest class, who falsely called himself Philip, the son of Perseus; and was subdued by Metellus, and taken prisoner, A.U.C. 606. They commenced their harangue from this alliance, which was indeed later in time, but higher in merit, since it subjected Macedonia intirely to the Roman power. See Florus, ii, 14.

[q] *Missas posthac*] They then mentioned the forces, &c.

[r] *In Antiochum*] Antiochus III. king of Syria, conquered by L. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus A.U.C. 564. Florus, ii, 8. Of him mention is made above, A. iii, 62.

[s] *Persen*] Of him see ch. 88.

[t] *Aristonicum*] See A. iv, 55.

[u] *Piratico bello*] Pompey, A.U.C. 687, destroyed a horde of pirates set afloat by Mithridates and dispersed over the sea. Flor. iii, 6. But we must not confound with Antony the triumvir, that Antony, who took care of the maritime coasts, before the superintendence of the piratic war was committed to Pompey. This is the person, of whom Sallust writes, as he always does, in an admirable manner: Frag. Hist. iii, 15. 'M. Antonius perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis, nisi instantibus.' See also Asconius and Cic. Verr. iv.

[v] *Recentia in Cæsares merita*] In the Thracian war, of which in A. iv, 47. and the Bosphoran war, of which above in ch. 15.

[x] *Vehendo commeatu*] So the ancient writers often said for *vehendo commeatui*.

vortio,[y] Byzantium in extrema Europa posuere Græci, quibus Pythium Apollinem consulentibus, 'ubi conderent urbem,' redditum oraculum est, 'quærerent sedem, cæcorum terris adversam.' Ea ambage Chalcedonii[z] monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti, prævisa locorum utilitate, pejora legissent. Quippe Byzantium fertili solo fœcundoque mari, quia vis piscium innumera[a] Ponto erumpens,[b] et obliquis subter undas saxis[c] exterrita, omisso alterius littoris flexu, hos ad portus defertur. Unde primo quæstuosi et opulenti; post magnitudine onerum urgente, 'finem aut modum' orabant, adnitente Principe, qui 'Thracio Bosphoranoque[d] bello recens fessos, juvandosque' retulit. Ita tributa in quinquennium remissa.

64. [A.U.C. 807. J.C. 54.] M. Asinio, Manio Acilio consulibus,[e] mutationem rerum in deterius portendi, cognitum est crebris prodigiis.[f] Signa ac tentoria militum igne cœlesti arsere: fastigio Capitolii examen apium[g] insedit: biformes[h] hominum partus: et suis fœtum editum, cui accipitrum ungues inessent. Numerabatur inter ostenta deminutus omnium magistratuum numerus, quæstore, ædili, tribuno, ac prætore et consule, paucos intra menses defunctis. Sed in præcipuo pavore Agrippina vocem Claudii, quam temulentus jecerat, 'fatale sibi, ut conjugum flagitia ferret, dein puniret,' metuens, agere et celerare statuit, perdita prius Domitia Lepida, muliebribus causis: quia Lepida, minore Antonia[i] genita,

[y] *Inter Europam Asiamque divortio*] Now *the Strait of Constantinople.*

[z] *Chalcedonii*] Chalcedon, which was formerly a very famous city, is now a village called *Kadi Cui.*

[a] *Vis piscium innumera*] Of *pelamides*, or young tunnies.

[b] *Ponto erumpens*] Pontus is now *the Black Sea.*

[c] *Obliquis subter undas saxis*] Slanting and glistening.

[d] *Thracio Bosphoranoque*] A. iv, 46. xii, 15.

[e] *Manio Acilio coss.*] M. Asinius Marcellus and Manius Acilius Aviola were consuls A.U.C. 807. J.C. 54. Of Acilius, see in A. iii, 41.

[f] *Crebris prodigiis*] Plin. ii, 25. 'In nostro vero ævo circa veneficium, quo Claudius Cæsar imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni: ac deinde principatu ejus, assiduum prope ac sævum [sidus, cometes].' Suetonius in Claud. 46. mentions 'tactum de cœlo monumentum Drusi patris.'

[g] *Examen apium*] So Mss. Flor. Reg. and the best edd. In others *apum.* But Pliny also says, xvii, 27. 'Centrinas, genus culicum, fucis apium similes ignavia malitiaque.'

[h] *Biformes*] I should rather understand *biformes* of various forms of men and animals, than of two-headed parts of men and animals, of which in A. xv, 47.

[i] *Minore Antonia*] Rather *majore*, as we learn from Suet. Ner. 5. See also St. C. 32.

avunculo Augusto, Agrippinæ sobrina prior,[k] ac Cneii, mariti ejus, soror,[l] parem sibi claritudinem credebat: nec forma, ætas, opes multum distabant; et utraque impudica, infamis, vinolenta,[m] haud minus vitiis æmulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant. Enimvero certamen acerrimum, amita potius, an mater, apud Neronem prævaleret: nam Lepida blandimentis et largitionibus juvenilem animum[n] devinciebat; truci contra ac minaci Agrippina, quæ filio dare imperium,[o] tolerare imperitantem nequibat.

65. Ceterum objecta sunt, 'quod conjugium Principis devotionibus petivisset,[a] quodque, parum coercitis per Calabriam servorum agminibus,[p] pacem Italiæ turbaret.' Ob hæc mors indicta, multum adversante Narcisso, qui, Agrippinam magis magisque suspectans, promsisse inter proximos ferebatur, 'certam sibi perniciem,[q] seu Britannicus

[k] *Agrippinæ sobrina prior*] This is clear from the genealogy of the Cæsars: for there are four individuals up to Agrippina; Octavia, Antonia the younger, Germanicus, and Agrippina: but there are only three up to Domitia Lepida; Octavia, Antonia the elder, and Domitia Lepida. See St. C. 25. 93.

[l] *Cneii—soror*] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, husband of Agrippina, was brother to Domitia Lepida. See St. C. 34. 25.

[m] *Vinolenta*] Rather *violenta*.

[n] *Juvenilem animum*] Of Nero.

[o] *Dare imperium*] Huet well explains it: 'Agrippina filio dare imperium quibat, eum tolerare imperitantem nequibat.'

[a] *Devotionibus petivisset*] Not that she had sought marriage with Claudius by imprecations and incantations; but that she wished by them to destroy Agrippina, the wife of Claudius: for such is the necessary meaning of the Latin words, and so Tacitus in many places.

[p] *Servorum agminibus*] In this state of Domitia Lepida's affairs, and the great luxury of the city, we may estimate the great numbers of slaves by the case of C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus, a man by no means high in the state, and who had lost much by the civil war; and yet seventy years before had bequeathed 'servorum quatuor millia centum sedecim, juga boum tria millia sexcenta, reliqui pecoris co. quinquaginta septem millia: in numerato HS DC.' £500,000. Plin. xxxiii, 10.

[q] *Perniciem*] This speech of Narcissus is altered and disordered, and after all declared inexplicable by the commentators. It is certainly difficult and rugged, but its obvious meaning seems to be this. Narcissus complains of certain destruction to himself, whether Britannicus or Nero be emperor: however, he was bound to Claudius Cæsar by ties of gratitude, and would sacrifice his life to him. Messalina and Silius had been convicted by his own counsel and instigation. Should Nero seize the sovereignty, the crimes of his mother might bring forward the same catastrophe; and if Britannicus succeeded to the empire, with that prince he had no claim of merit, on account of the punishment of Messalina and the artifices of his step-mother Agrippina, who plans the ruin of the imperial house. To suffer this in silence were a more flagitious crime than to have connived at the vices of the former empress, which are now renewed by Agrippina. Her adulterous commerce with Pallas is too well

rerum, seu Nero potiretur. Verum ita de se meritum Cæsarem, ut vitam usui ejus impenderet. Convictam Messalinam et Silium. Pares iterum accusandi causas esse, si Nero imperitaret. Britannico successore, nullum Principi meritum: ac novercæ insidiis domum omnem convelli, majore flagitio, quam si impudicitiam prioris conjugis reticuisset: quamquam ne impudicitiam quidem nunc abesse, Pallante adultero: ne quis ambigat, decus, pudorem, corpus, cuncta regno viliora habere.' Hæc atque talia dictitans, amplecti Britannicum: 'robur ætatis quam maturrimum' precari: modo ad Deos, modo ad ipsum tendere manus, 'adolesceret, patris inimicos depelleret; matris etiam interfectores ulcisceretur.'[r]

66. In tanta mole curarum, Claudius valetudine adversa corripitur, refovendisque viribus mollitie cœli et salubritate aquarum, Sinuessam pergit.[s] Tum Agrippina, sceleris olim certa, et oblatæ occasionis propera, nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit: 'ne repentino et præcipiti facinus proderetur; si lentum et tabidum delegisset, ne admotus supremis Claudius, et dolo intellecto, ad amorem filii rediret. Exquisitum aliquid' placebat, 'quod turbaret mentem, et mortem differret.' Deligitur artifex talium, vocabulo Locusta,[t] nuper veneficii damnata, et diu inter instrumenta regni[u] habita. Ejus mulieris ingenio paratum virus, cujus minister e spadonibus fuit Halotus,[v] inferre epulas, et explorare gustu[x] solitus.

67. Adeoque cuncta mox pernotuere, ut temporum illorum scriptores prodiderint, 'infusum delectabili cibo bole-

known; and it is equally known, that her modesty, her fame, her honor, and her person are all subservient to her ambition.

[r] *Ulcisceretur*] *Inimicos*, sc. Agrippina, Pallas, Nero. *Matris*, sc. Messalina. He hoped by his death to save the throne of Claudius and the life of Britannicus.

[s] *Sinuessam pergit*] Sinuessa, formerly called by the Greeks Sinope, the farthest city of Latium. Plin. iii, 5. § 9. Ruins of this place are still to be seen near a castle of the name of *Torre di Monte Dragone*. Pliny, xxxi, 2. speaks of the waters of Sinuessa as good for curing the barrenness of women and the insanity of men.

[t] *Locusta*] See more A. xiii, 15.

[u] *Instrumenta regni*] Rather the wretches and monsters of the kingdom, such as would be approved by none but Machiavel, the teacher of dishonesty and iniquity.

[v] *Fuit Halotus*] Mentioned also by Suet. Claud. 44. who, after his manner, sets down many other rumors.

[x] *Explorare gustu*] Suet. l. c. 'Per Halotum spadonem prægustatorem.' The PRÆGUSTATORES of the emperors often occur in ancient inscriptions.

torum[y] venenum; nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, socordiane Claudii, an vinolentia: simul soluta alvus subvenisse videbatur. Igitur exterrita Agrippina, et, quando ultima timebantur, spreta præsentium invidia, provisam jam sibi Xenophontis medici conscientiam adhibet. Ille, tamquam nisus evomentis adjuvaret,[z] pinnam rapido veneno inlitam faucibus ejus demisisse creditur; haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio.

68. Vocabatur interim senatus; votaque pro incolumitate Principis consules et sacerdotes nuncupabant, cum jam exanimis vestibus et fomentis obtegeretur, dum res firmando Neronis imperio componuntur. Jam primum Agrippina, velut dolore victa et solatia conquirens, tenere amplexu Britannicum, 'veram paterni oris effigiem' appellare, ac variis artibus demorari, ne cubiculo egrederetur. Antoniam quoque et Octaviam,[a] sorores ejus, attinuit, et cunctos aditus custodiis clauserat; crebroque vulgabat, 'ire in melius valetudinem Principis,' quo miles bona in spe ageret, tempusque prosperum ex monitis Chaldæorum adventaret.

69. Tunc medio diei, tertium ante Idus Octobris,[b] foribus palatii repente diductis, comitante Burro, Nero egreditur ad cohortem, quæ more militiæ excubiis adest. Ibi, monente præfecto, festis vocibus exceptus, inditur lecticæ. Dubitavisse quosdam ferunt, respectantes, rogitantesque 'ubi Britannicus esset?' mox, nullo in diversum auctore, quæ offerebantur secuti sunt. Inlatusque castris[c] Nero, et congruentia tempori præfatus, promisso donativo ad exemplum paternæ largitionis,[d] Imperator consalutatur.

[y] *Boletorum*] Plin. xxii, 22. 46. 'Inter ea, quæ temere manduntur, et boletos merito posuerim, optimi hos quidem cibi, sed immenso exemplo in crimen adductos, veneno Tiberio Claudio, Principi, per hanc occasionem a conjuge Agrippina dato: quo facto illa terris venenum alterum, sibique ante omnes, Neronem suum dedit.' Juv. Sat. v, 146. 'Vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis, Boletus domino: sed qualem Claudius edit Ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.'

[z] *Adjuvaret*] Here is a new crime of the medical art. See on A. iv, 3.

[a] *Antoniam—Octaviam*] Antonia, daughter of Claudius and Ælia Petina: Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina. See St. C. 105. 36.

[b] *Tertium—Octobris*] On the 13th of October. Ms. Flor. and the old and best edds. *tertium*: Rhenanus and others *tertio*.

[c] *Inlatusque castris*] Of the pretorian troops.

[d] *Paternæ largitionis*] Hence Nero, like Claudius, promised each soldier fifteen sestertia, 125*l*. But the amount of the whole largess, considering the

Sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta: nec dubitatum est apud provincias: cœlestesque honores[e] Claudio decernuntur, et funeris solemne perinde ac divo Augusto[f] celebratur; æmulante Agrippina proaviæ Liviæ[g] magnificentiam. Testamentum tamen haud recitatum, ne antepositus filio privignus[h] injuria et invidia animos vulgi turbaret.

pretorian troops alone, without even reckoning the rewards of the officers, was HS MCCCL. 1,125,000*l*.

[e] *Cœlestesque honores*] This consecration of Augustus is attested by the coins, on which often occurs DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS. It was ridiculed by Nero, who called mushrooms 'escam deorum.' It was ridiculed also by Juv. Sat. vi, 619. 'Minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinæ Boletus: siquidem unius præcordia pressit Ille senis, tremulumque caput descendere jussit In cœlum, et longa manantia labra saliva.' It is turned into jest also by Seneca in his ἀποκολοκύντωσις, so called from a mushroom; a composition not indeed without wit, but too bitter for a philosopher.

[f] *Divo Augusto*] See Suet. Aug. 100. and above A. i, 8.

[g] *Proaviæ Liviæ*] Livia was the wife of Augustus, the great-grandmother of Agrippina. St. C. 66.

[h] *Filio privignus*] Nero was put before Britannicus.

ANNALES.

LIBER DECIMUS TERTIUS.

CHAP. 1. Silanus, proconsul of Asia, poisoned at the instigation of Agrippina; Narcissus, the emperor's freedman, destroyed, though favored by Nero on account of his vices—2. The characters of Burrus and of Seneca; funeral of Claudius; Nero delivers the oration—4. The beginning of Nero's reign promises well; the senate acts with independence—6. The Parthians claim a right over the kingdom of Armenia; Corbulo sent to command the army against them; his message to Vologeses, king of Parthia, who delivers hostages; the senate proposes to make the year begin from the first of December, the month in which Nero was born; the prince rejects the proposal—12. Nero's passion for Acte, an enfranchised slave; Agrippina's indignation; her power diminished—14. Pallas dismissed from court, and Nero's observation on it—15. Britannicus poisoned, and his funeral in the dead of night—18. Agrippina obnoxious to Nero, who removes her from his palace to another mansion; she is accused of designs against the state; Nero is for putting her to death; Burrus goes to hear her defence; her haughty spirit; she punishes her enemies, and rewards her friends—23. Pallas and Burrus accused; both acquitted, and the prosecutor banished—25. Nero's debauchery and midnight riots—26. Debates in the senate about the insolence of the freedmen; a proposal to make them subject to their original bondage—28. The jurisdiction of the tribunes and ediles restrained within narrower limits; short history of the administration of the revenue—30. Vipsanius Lenas condemned; Lucius Volusius dies at the age of ninety-three; his character—31. The magistrates chosen for the provinces not to give public spectacles; regulations for protecting the masters against their slaves; Pomponia Græcina charged with embracing a foreign superstition, and acquitted by the judgment of her husband—33. Publius Celer, Cossutianus Capito, and Eprius Marcellus accused of extortion—34. Nero's bounty to Valerius Messala, and others; new broils with the Parthians about Armenia; Corbulo reforms his soldiers by the rigor of his discipline; he enters Armenia; his army suffers by the inclemency of the winter; Tiridates, brother to Vologeses, king of Parthia, makes head against him, but in vain; he flies before the Romans; Corbulo takes the city of Artaxata, and burns it to the ground—42. Publius Suillius accused at Rome; he rails bitterly against Seneca; he is tried and condemned—44. Octavius Sagitta, in a fit of love and fury, stabs Pontia because she is not willing to perform a promise of marriage; the fidelity of his freedman; Sagitta is condemned—45. Nero's passion for Sabina Poppæa; her history, her beauty, and her artifices; Otho seduced her from her

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husband, Rufus Crispinus; Nero in love with her; he sends Otho to the government of Lusitania—47. Nero throws off the mask; he sends Cornelius Sylla into banishment; a sedition at Puteoli suppressed by military force—49. Pætus Thrasea opposes a motion in the senate; his enemies inveigh against his character; his answer to his friends—50. The exorbitant practices of the tax-gatherers restrained; Nero thinks of remitting all taxes whatever, but is dissuaded from it; the revenue laws laid open to the public—53. The tranquillity of affairs in Germany; the Frisians take the opportunity to settle on the banks of the Rhine; their two leading chiefs go to Rome to solicit the emperor; their behavior in Pompey's theatre; by Nero's order the Frisians exterminated; the Ansibarians, under Boiocalus, make the same attempt, and with no better success; the spirited answer of Boiocalus to the Roman general—57. War between the Hermundurians and the Cattians; both nations entertain superstitious notions about a river that produces salt; their quarrel on that account more fierce and violent; the Hermundurians conquer, and the Cattians almost cut to pieces—58. The Ruminal tree that gave shade to Romulus and Remus begins to decay, this was deemed an ill omen, till the branches once more displayed their leaves.

These transactions passed in four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
808	55	The emperor Nero, L. Antistius Vetus.
809	56	Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.
810	57	Nero, 2nd time, L. Calpurnius Piso.
811	58	Nero, 3rd time, Valerius Messala.

I. [A.U.C. 807. J.C. 54.] Prima novo Principatu mors Junii Silani,[a] proconsulis Asiæ, ignaro Nerone, per dolum Agrippinæ paratur: non quia ingenii violentia exitium irritaverat, segnis et dominationibus aliis[b] fastiditus, adeo ut C. Cæsar 'pecudem auream'[c] eum appellare solitus sit: verum Agrippina, fratri ejus L. Silano[d] necem molita, ultorem metuebat, crebra vulgi fama, 'anteponendum esse vixdum pueritiam egresso Neroni, et imperium per scelus adepto, virum ætate composita,[e] insontem, nobilem, et quod tunc spectaretur,[f] e Cæsarum posteris.' Quippe et Silanus

[a] *Junii Silani*] This is M. Junius Silanus, of whom Plin. vii, 13. 'Divus Augustus in reliqua exemplorum raritate, neptis suæ nepotem vidit genitum quo excessit anno, M. Silanum; qui, cum Asiam obtineret post consulatum, Neronis Principis successione, veneno ejus interemtus est.' See St. C. 57.

[b] *Dominationibus aliis*] The emperors Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius.

[c] *Pecudem auream*] Dio is twice in error, lix, p. 646. who makes these words a matter of praise; and writes that they were said of M. Silanus, of whom mention was made above in A. vi, 20.

[d] *Fratri ejus L. Silano*] Of whose fortune and fate mention is made above in A. xii, 3. 8. See also St. C. 60.

[e] *Ætate composita*] M. Junius Silanus was then forty years old.

[f] *Quod tunc spectaretur*] What was

sensibus, aut consulto ambiguus. Etiam C. Cæsaris turbata mens vim dicendi[y] non corrupit. Nec in Claudio[z] quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit: cælare, pingere,[a] cantus aut regimen equorum exercere; et aliquando carminibus pangendis, inesse sibi elementa doctrinæ ostendebat.

4. Ceterum, peractis tristitiæ imitamentis, curiam ingressus, et 'de auctoritate patrum, et consensu militum' præfatus, 'consilia sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii' memoravit: 'nec juventam armis civilibus, aut domesticis discordiis imbutam: nulla odia, nullas injurias, nec cupidinem ultionis adferre.' Tum formam futuri principatus præscripsit, ea maxime declinans, quorum recens[b] flagrabat invidia. 'Non enim se negotiorum omnium judicem[c] fore, ut, clausis unam intra domum[d] accusatoribus et reis, paucorum potentia grassaretur. Nihil in penatibus suis venale, aut ambitioni pervium: discretam domum et rempublicam.[e] Teneret antiqua munia[f] senatus: consu-

a cura præstantior haberetur.' In Aug. 86. he states that Augustus did not spare Tiberius, 'exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti.'

[y] *Vim dicendi*] Suet. Cal. 53. 'E disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiæ plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promtus: utique si perorandum in aliquem esset, irato et verba et sententiæ suppetebant: pronuntiatio quoque et vox, ut neque eodem loci præ ardore consisteret, et exaudiretur a procul stantibus. Peroraturus stricturum se lucubrationis suæ telum minabatur: lenius comtiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam, tum maxime placentem, commissiones meras componere, et arenam esse sine calce diceret.'

[z] *In Claudio*] That he was not without eloquence or learning, but was devoted to literature, we learn from Suet. Claud. 40. I am not sorry to have collected these testimonies in favor of the eloquence of the Cæsars, since the exquisite expressiveness of the brevity of Tacitus is made so apparent by them.

[a] *Cælare, pingere*] Concerning these lighter occupations, scarcely becoming a young man, not to say a prince, see Suet. Ner. 20. 53. And yet Nero was not unfit for more serious pursuits: 'sed a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse; a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca præceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret.' Suet. Ner. 52. This passage is turned into French verse by Racine.

[b] *Quorum recens*] In the reign of Claudius.

[c] *Negotiorum—judicem*] This and the following had been the errors of Claudius.

[d] *Clausis—domum*] 'Subornatis,' says Huet, 'accusatoribus ex eadem domo, qua rei.' The meaning is rather, that he would not be so the judge of all matters, that, by the closeting of the accusers and the accused within the palace of the prince, and terminating the case clandestinely, every thing should be given over to the judgment of a few freedmen, whose power thus would become overwhelming.

[e] *Domum et rempublicam*] That what belonged to the family of the Prince, and what to the state, should be kept separate.

[f] *Antiqua munia*] Claudius on the

lum tribunalibus Italia et publicæ provinciæ [g] adsisterent. Illi patrum aditum præberent: se mandatis exercitibus consulturum.'

5. Nec defuit fides: multaque arbitrio senatus constituta sunt: 'Ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur: [h] ne designatis quidem quæstoribus edendi gladiatores [i] necessitas esset.' Quod quidem, adversante Agrippina, tamquam 'acta Claudii subverterentur,' obtinuere patres: qui in palatium [k] ob id vocabantur, ut adstaret abditis a tergo foribus velo discreta, quod visum arceret, auditus non adimeret. Quin et legatis Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus, escendere suggestum [l] Imperatoris, et præsidere simul parabat; nisi, ceteris pavore defixis, Seneca admonuisset, 'venienti matri occurreret.' Ita specie pietatis, obviam itum dedecori.

6. Fine anni, [m] turbidis rumoribus, 'prorupisse rursum Parthos, et rapi Armeniam,' allatum est, 'pulso Rhadamisto,' [n] qui sæpe regni ejus potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum deseruerat. Igitur in Urbe sermonum avida, 'quemadmodum Princeps, vix septemdecim annos

contrary had transferred 'cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se.' A. xi, 5.

[g] *Italia—provinciæ*] Italy and the provinces, which Augustus had given to the Romans, might appeal to the tribunal of the consuls, who might grant an audience of the senate: he would provide only for the provinces and the armies committed to his own care. The senate inscribed this oration on a silver column, and decreed that it should be read every year, on the entrance of the consuls on their office: Dio, lxi, p. 690. For farther information on the right of the senate in Italy, see Polyb. vi, 11.

[h] *Mercede—emeretur*] Under the reign of Claudius no public commodities were so easy of purchase as the perfidy of orators. See A. xi, 6—7.

[i] *Edendi gladiatores*] For this necessity see above, in A. xi, 22. It was restored by Domitian: Suet. Domit. 4.

[k] *In palatium*] The senate was convened in the palace, in order that Agrippina, who was fond of power, might be present in person, not indeed visibly, but so separated as to lie concealed between the secret door and the arras, which should prevent her seeing, but not her hearing. When the ambassadors of the Armenians were pleading their cause, she was even preparing to mount the Emperor's pulpit, and to preside; had not Seneca, in the general confusion, advised Nero to meet his mother as she advanced.

[l] *Escendere suggestum*] So Mss. Flor. Farnes. Ryckius, and the moderns. In Mss. Reg. Harl. Bodl. Jes. and the ancient edd. *ascendere*. Each is admissible, but the former is more ancient.

[m] *Fine anni*] Truly so; for Nero was seventeen years old on the 15th of December.

[n] *Pulso Rhadamisto*] See A. xii, 48. 51.

est; 'ire' præfectum cohortis Arrium Varum, 'et reciperare obsides' jubet. Hinc ortum inter præfectum et centurionem jurgium, ne diutius externis spectaculo esset, arbitrium rei obsidibus legatisque, qui eos ducebant, permissum: atque illi ob recentem gloriam, et inclinatione quadam etiam hostium, Corbulonem prætulere. Unde discordia inter duces: querente Ummidio, 'prærepta, quæ suis consiliis patravisset;' testante contra Corbulone, 'non prius conversum regem ad offerendos obsides, quam ipse, dux bello delectus, spes ejus ad metum mutaret.' Nero, quo componeret diversos, sic evulgari jussit: 'Ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas, laurum fascibus[d] imperatoriis addi.' Quæ, in alios consules egressa, conjunxi.

10. Eodem anno Cæsar 'effigiem Cn. Domitio[e] patri, consularia insignia Asconio Labeoni,' quo tutore usus erat, petivit a senatu: sibique 'statuas argento vel auro solidas,' adversus offerentes prohibuit. Et, quamquam censuissent patres, 'ut principium anni inciperet mense Decembri,' quo ortus erat Nero, veterem religionem Calendarum Januariarum inchoando anno retinuit. Neque recepti sunt inter reos Carinas Celer, senator, servo accusante; aut Julius Densus, equester, cui favor in Britannicum crimini dabatur.

11. [A.U.C. 808. J.C. 55.] Claudio Nerone, L. Antistio consulibus,[f] cum in acta Principum jurarent magistratus, 'in sua acta[g] collegam Antistium jurare' prohibuit: magnis patrum laudibus, ut juvenilis animus, levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus, majores continuaret.[h] Secutaque lenitas in Plautium Lateranum,[i] quem ob adulterium Mes-

[d] *Laurum fascibus*] The dictatorship and four and twenty fasces were decreed formerly to Augustus: Dio, liv, p. 521. Afterwards he received for life the consular power and twelve fasces: Dio, liv, p. 527. Writers frequently speak of the fasces being adorned with laurel on account of victory. See Plin. xv, 30.

[e] *Cn. Domitio*] Domitius, the father of Nero.

[f] *L. Antistio coss.*] Nero Claudius Augustus and L. Antistius Vetus entered on their consulate A.U.C. 808. J.C. 55.

[g] *In sua acta*] The other magistrates swore on the acts of Nero and the preceding Cæsars: Antistius, the colleague of the consulate, swore not on the acts of the Prince, but of the preceding Cæsars. See A. i, 7. In an ancient potter's workshop in Muratori, Thes. Inscr. vol. i, p. 305.

NERO. CLAVD. CAES.
L. ANT. VETVS. COS.

[h] *Majores continuaret*] Aspire to greater things. But the desire of applause is of a dubious nature: it inflames the best, hurts the good, and ruins the bad.

[i] *Plautium Lateranum*] Whom we have seen in A. xi, 30, reckoned among the paramours of Messalina.

salinæ, ordine remotum, reddidit senatui, 'clementiam suam'[k] obstringens crebris orationibus; quas Seneca, testificando quam honesta præciperet, vel jactandi ingenii,[l] voce Principis vulgabat.

12. Ceterum infracta paulatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ, cui vocabulum Acte[m] fuit: simul adsumtis in conscientiam Othone et Claudio Senecione, adolescentulis decoris: quorum Otho,[n] familia consulari, Senecio, liberto Cæsaris[o] patre genitus, ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepserant per luxum et ambigua secreta: ne severioribus quidem Principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula, nulla cujusquam injuria, cupidines Principis explente; quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem et probitatis spectatæ, fato quodam, an quia prævalent inlicita,[p] abhorrebat: metuebaturque ne in stupra fœminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur.

13. Sed Agrippina 'libertam æmulam, nurum ancillam,'[q] aliaque eumdem in modum muliebriter fremere. Neque pœnitentiam filii, aut satietatem opperiri: quantoque fœdiora exprobrabat, acrius accendere; donec, vi amoris subactus, exueret obsequium in matrem, seque Senecæ[r] permitteret. Ex cujus familiaribus Annæus Se-

[k] *Clementiam suam*] Hence Seneca wrote, about the end of this year or the beginning of the next, his two books on Clemency.

[l] *Jactandi ingenii*] i. e. 'causa.'

[m] *Acte*] Whom Nero introduced from Asia, and was so much in love with, that he placed her among the family of Attalus; and, when desirous of marrying her, suborned men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal birth: Suet. Ner. 28. Dio, lxi, p. 692.

[n] *Otho*] Afterwards emperor, of whom more in H. i. and ii.

[o] *Liberto Cæsaris*] Of Claudius Cæsar.

[p] *Prævalent inlicita*] Perhaps also by the arts of Agrippina, who feared a superior or an equal.

[q] *Nurum ancillam*] i. e. 'libertam esse æmulam, ancillam fieri nurum.' This is said with characteristic brevity. Some understand *nurum* of Octavia. Dati: *Si lamentava ch' una liberta dovesse essere padrona, è la nuora costretta ad esser serva.* But it is better understood by Davanzati: *Sbuffava Agrippina d'avere una liberta per compagna, una servente per nuora.* Gordon: *Now Agrippina stormed, that a manumised slave was become her competitress, a handmaid her daughter-in-law.* Murphy: *Agrippina was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchised slave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law.* Sucyro: *Bramava Agrippina, de aver de sufrir el tener por emula a una liberta, y por nuera una esclava.* Amelot de la Houssaie: *Agrippine crioit avec la violence ordinaire à son sexe qu'il fesoit beau voir une servante devenir sa bru et sa rivale.* Dureau: *Agrippine se récria sur ce qu'on lui donnait une affranchie pour rivale, une esclave pour bru.*

[r] *Seque Senecæ*] How widely then differed the counsels of Seneca from his writings! Shame on such philosophy!

renus,[t] simulatione amoris adversus eamdem libertam, primas adolescentis cupidines velaverat, præbueratque nomen, ut quæ Princeps furtim mulierculæ tribuebat, ille palam largiretur. Tum Agrippina, versis artibus, per blandimenta juvenem adgredi, 'suum potius cubiculum ac sinum' offerre, 'contegendis, quæ prima ætas et summa fortuna expeterent.' Quin et fatebatur 'intempestivam severitatem,'[u] et suarum opum,[w] quæ haud procul Imperatoriis aberant, copias tradebat: ut nimia nuper coercendo filio, ita rursum intemperanter demissa. Quæ mutatio neque Neronem fefellit, et proximi amicorum metuebant, orabantque 'cavere insidias mulieris semper atrocis, tum et falsæ.' Forte illis diebus Cæsar, inspecto ornatu, quo Principum[v] conjuges ac parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas, misitque donum matri, nulla parcimonia,[x] cum præcipua et cupita aliis, prior deferret. Sed Agrippina, 'non his instrui cultus suos, sed ceteris arceri,' proclamat, 'et dividere filium, quæ cuncta ex ipsa haberet.' Nec defuere qui in deterius referrent.

14. Et Nero, infensus iis, quibus superbia muliebris[y] innitebatur, demovet Pallantem cura rerum,[z] queis a Claudio impositus, velut arbitrum regni agebat: fereba-

[t] *Ann. Serenus*] Of whom Plin. xxii. 23: 'Familias [fungi] nuper interemere, et tota convivia, Annæum Serenum, præfectum Neronis vigilum, et tribunos, centurionesque. Quæ voluptas tanta ancipitis cibi?' To Serenus, an intimate friend, Seneca inscribed his book De Tranquillitate Animi. His sixty-third epistle is a proof how much he lamented his death: 'Annæum Serenum, carissimum mihi, tam immodice flevi, ut (quod minime velim) inter exempla sim eorum, quos dolor vicit. Hodie tamen factum meum damno, et intelligo maximam mihi causam sic lugendi fuisse, quod nunquam cogitaveram, mori eum ante me posse. Hoc unum mihi occurrebat, minorem esse, et multo minorem: tanquam ordinem fata servarent.'

[u] *Intempestivam severitatem*] Agrippina confessed that she was unreasonably severe against Nero.

[w] *Suarum opum*] Agrippina was in possession of all the wealth of the Claudii, little inferior to imperial riches.

[v] *Principum*] The preceding emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius. The wardrobe of their wives and mothers was preserved among the imperial treasures.

[x] *Nulla parcimonia*] These things Nero presented to his mother in a most liberal manner; and so much the more, as he, though unsolicited, gave up the chief articles, and such as were chiefly prized by the other wives and mothers of the emperors. But Agrippina complains that her wardrobe is not enriched by these presents; but that she by this very liberality is deprived of the imperial treasures; and that her son divides between his mother and his mistresses what he had from herself.

[y] *Muliebris*] Of Agrippina.

[z] *Cura rerum*] Pallas was over the accounts: Suet. Claud. 28. but after the incestuous connexion of Agrippina and Claudius, he was, as it were, the ruler of the kingdom, and every thing was done by his orders.

turque, degrediente eo, magna prosequentium multitudine, non absurde dixisse, 'Ire Pallantem, ut ejuraret.'[a] Sane pepigerat Pallas, 'ne cujus facti in præteritum interrogaretur, paresque rationes[b] cum republica haberet.' Præceps post hæc Agrippina, ruere in terrorem et minas; neque Principis auribus abstinere, quominus testaretur, 'adultum jam esse Britannicum, veram dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio, quod insitus et adoptivus per injurias matris exerceret. Non abnuere se, quin cuncta infelicis domus mala patefierent, suæ in primis nuptiæ,[c] suum veneficium. Id solum Diis et sibi provisum, quod viveret privignus.[d] Ituram cum illo in castra. Audiretur hinc Germanici filia, inde debilis rursus Burrus[e] et exul Seneca, trunca scilicet manu,[f] et professoria lingua, generis humani regimen expostulantes.' Simul intendere manus, aggerere probra; 'consecratum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes'[g] invocare, 'et tot inrita facinora.'

15. Turbatus his Nero, et propinquo die, quo quartumdecimum ætatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare

[a] *Ut ejuraret*] Nero pleasantly said that Pallas was going to abandon the supreme command, and to abdicate.

[b] *Paresque rationes*] That all accounts between him and the public should without examination be considered as closed and balanced.

[c] *Suæ in primis nuptiæ*] The incestuous nuptials, of which in A. xii, 5—7. For the poison which killed Claudius, see A. xii, 66, 67.

[d] *Privignus*] Britannicus.

[e] *Rursus Burrus*] *Rursus* seems to be superfluous. Gordon translates the passage: *With him she would repair to the camp, where, on one side, would be heard the daughter of Germanicus; on the other, Burrus and Seneca, the first with his maimed hand, the second with the style of a pedagogue, both engaged in a contest with her about the sovereign rule of human kind.* Murphy thus: *With that young prince she would join the army: in the camp should be heard the daughter of Germanicus; Burrus, and Seneca, the famous exile, might present themselves before the pretorian soldiers; the first with his maimed hand, and the second armed with his tropes and flowers of rhetoric; both worthy ministers, fit, in their own opinion, to govern the Roman world.*

[f] *Trunca—manu*] On one side should be heard the daughter of Germanicus, demanding the rights of Britannicus; on the other the cowardly Burrus and the exiled Seneca, the one with a maimed hand, the second armed with rhetoric, demanding the direction of mankind. Burrus is said to be 'trunca manu,' on account of his moonshine valor. Agrippina alludes to those poltroons, who, in order to decline service, cut off their thumbs: Suet. Aug. 24. Whence, as we learn from Am. Marcell. xv, 12. 'Ad militandum omnis [Gallorum] ætas aptissima: et pari pectoris robore senex ad procinctum ducitur et adultus, gelu duratis artubus et labore adsiduo, multa contemturus et formidanda: nec eorum aliquando quisquam, ut in Italia, munus Martium pertimescens, pollicem sibi præcidit, quos localiter Murcos appellant.'

[g] *Silanorum manes*] Of Lucius and Junius Silanus, of whom in ch. 1.

secum, modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, ut quidem experimento[h] nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quæsivisset. Festis Saturno diebus,[i] inter alia æqualium ludicra, regnum lusu sortientium,[k] evenerat ea sors Neroni. Igitur ceteris diversa, nec ruborem allatura: ubi Britannico jussit, 'exsurgeret, progressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet,' inrisum ex eo sperans pueri, sobrios quoque convictus, nedum temulentos, ignorantis; ille constanter exorsus est carmen,[l] quo 'evolutum eum sede patria rebusque summis,' significabatur. Unde orta miseratio manifestior, quia dissimulationem nox et lascivia[m] exemerat. Nero, intellecta invidia, odium intendit: urgentibusque Agrippinæ minis, quia nullum crimen, neque jubere cædem fratris palam audebat, occulta molitur; 'pararique venenum' jubet, ministro Pollione Julio, prætoriæ cohortis tribuno, cujus cura attinebatur[n] damnata veneficii, nomine Locusta,[o] multa scelerum fama: nam ut proximus quisque Britannico neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet, olim provisum erat. Primum venenum ab ipsis educatoribus accepit, transmisitque, exsoluta alvo,

[h] *Ut quidem experimento*] Perhaps *levi quidem experimento.*

[i] *Festis Saturno diebus*] From these words we may arrange the whole of this narrative, which is comprehended by few. Nero had taken the empire the year before, October 13. A. xii, 69. Near the end of the month, through the whole of November, and perhaps in the beginning of December, he exhibited those specimens of an excellent prince, of which in A. xiii, 4, 5. About the middle of December he fell in love with the freedwoman Acte: A. xiii, 12. Agrippina rages on hearing of it. The Saturnalia commenced on December 17, and lasted five days: then it was that Britannicus sang that courageous but fatal song, of which in A. xiii, 15. The day was at hand on which he would be fourteen years of age: for he was born the day before the ides of February, A.U.C. 794. Suet. Claud. 27. At the commencement of A.U.C. 808. Agrippina became every day more bitter, and Britannicus more hateful. Nero, fearing his mother, and hating Britannicus, poisoned him in January or February, before he had completed his fourteenth year.

[k] *Lúsu sortientium*] They cast lots with dice. So Horace, Od. i, 4, 18. 'Nec regna vini sortiere talis.' These kingdoms given by Saturn, and these ridiculous ordinances, γελοῖα ἐπιτάγματα, made by the pretended prince, are justly derided by Lucian, Saturn. iv, vol. iii, p. 387, 388.

[l] *Exorsus est carmen*] Ennius's commentators imagine that Britannicus repeated from the Andromache of Ennius: 'O pater, o patria, o Priami domus, Septum altisono cardine templum: Vidi ego te, adstante ope barbarica, Tecteis cælatis, laqueatis, Auro, ebore, instructum regifice; Hæc omnia vidi inflammari.'

[m] *Et lascivia*] Of the Saturnalia and the accompanying gambles.

[n] *Attinebatur*] A tribune was set to guard her, as we have seen in A. i, 6.

[o] *Nomine Locusta*] The old Scholiast on Juv. Sat. i, 71, says that she was brought by Nero from Gaul, as she had great repute as a poisoner, and that she even taught the prince to mix poisons.

parum validum, sive temperamentum inerat, ne statim sæviret. Sed Nero, lenti sceleris impatiens, minitari tribuno, jubere 'supplicium veneficæ, quod, dum rumorem respiciunt, dum parant defensiones, securitatem morarentur.' Promittentibus dein 'tam præcipitem necem, quam si ferro urgeretur,' cubiculum Cæsaris juxta decoquitur virus, cognitis antea venenis rapidum.

16. Mos habebatur, Principum liberos, cum ceteris idem ætatis nobilibus, sedentes vesci[p] in aspectu propinquorum, propria et parciore mensa. Illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque ejus delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat,[q] ne omitteretur institutum, aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dolus repertus est. Innoxia adhuc, ac præcalida, et libata gustu potio traditur Britannico: dein, postquam fervore aspernabatur, frigida in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita cunctos ejus artus pervasit, ut vox pariter et spiritus raperentur. Trepidatur a circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes. At quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi, et Neronem intuentes. Ille, ut erat reclinis, et nescio similis, 'solitum ita,' ait, 'per comitialem morbum, quo primum ab infantia adflictaretur Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus sensusque.' At Agrippinæ is pavor, ea consternatio mentis, quamvis vultu premeretur, emicuit, ut perinde ignaram fuisse[r] ac sororem Britannici Octaviam, constiterit: quippe sibi supremum auxilium ereptum, et parricidii exemplum intelligebat. Octavia quoque, quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem, caritatem, omnes affectus abscondere didicerat. Ita post breve silentium, repetita convivii lætitia.

17. Nox eadem[s] necem Britannici et rogum conjunxit, proviso ante funebri paratu, qui modicus fuit. In campo

[p] *Sedentes vesci*] Suet. Tib. 2. has it wrongly *cubantes*. He says himself in Aug. 64. of Augustus: 'neque cœnavit una [cum nepotibus], nisi ut in imo lecto adsiderent.' That women also were formerly wont to dine 'cum cubantibus viris sedentes,' we learn from Val. Max. ii, 1, n. 2.

[q] *Gustu explorabat*] See on A. xii, 66.

[r] *Ignaram fuisse*] She is declared conscious and guilty by Juvenal, vi, 132, who writes with more spirit than truth, 'Hippomanes, carmenque loquar, coctumque venenum, Privigno datum?'

[s] *Nox eadem*] Hence what Dio says in lxi, p. 692, seems suspicious: that Britannicus's face was livid with poison; that Nero, to hide it, had it covered with plaster; but that, as the corpse was carried along the forum, such a shower of rain fell, that the plaster, which was still moist, was washed away; and that the crime of poison, which was publicly rumored, now became manifest.

tamen Martis sepultus est,[t] adeo turbidis imbribus, ut vulgus iram Deum portendi crediderit adversus facinus; cui plerique etiam hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum æstimantes. Tradunt plerique eorum temporum scriptores, 'crebris ante exitium diebus, inlusum isse[u] pueritiæ Britannici Neronem:' ut jam non præmatura, neque sæva mors videri queat, quamvis inter sacra mensæ, ne tempore quidem ad complexum sorori dato, ante oculos inimici properata sit, in illum supremum Claudiorum sanguinem, stupro prius quam veneno pollutum. Festinationem exsequiarum edicto Cæsar defendit, id a majoribus institutum referens, 'subtrahere oculis acerba funera,[v] neque laudationibus, aut pompa detinere. Ceterum et sibi, amisso fratris auxilio, reliquas spes in republica sitas: et tanto magis fovendum patribus populoque Principem, qui unus superesset e familia, summum ad fastigium genita.' Exin largitione potissimos amicorum auxit.

18. Nec defuere, qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes,[x] 'quod domos, villas,[y] id temporis, quasi prædam divisissent.' Alii necessitatem adhibitam credebant a Principe, sceleris sibi conscio, et veniam sperante, si largitionibus validissimum quemque obstrinxisset. At matris ira nulla munificentia leniri; sed amplecti Octaviam; crebra cum amicis secreta habere; super ingenitam avaritiam, undique pecunias, quasi in subsidium, corripiens, tribunos et centuriones comiter excipere: nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum supererant, in honore habere; quasi quæreret ducem et partes. Cognitum id Neroni, 'excubiasque militares,' quæ, ut conjugi Imperatoris solitum, et matri servabantur, 'et Germanos'[z] super eumdem hono-

[t] *Sepultus est*] Like the remains of Germanicus, A. iii, 4, those of Britannicus seem to have been placed in the tomb of Augustus, which was in the Campus Martius, where is now the palace and the gardens of Marquis Correa. The ruins still exist, exhibited in three plates by Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, vol. ii, Tab. lxi—lxiii.

[u] *Inlusum isse*] That Nero amused himself in a disgraceful manner with Britannicus. After such debasing insults, the death of Britannicus should not seem untimely or severe; it should rather be considered a matter of joy, as it prevented farther insults.

[v] *Acerba funera*] i. e. untimely.

[x] *Gravitatem adseverantes*] Particularly Burrus and Seneca, Nero's tutors, grave and wise men, but unable to cope with fortune.

[y] *Domos, villas*] Of Britannicus.

[z] *Et Germanos*] Formerly the Emperors' guards: A. i, 24. Spaniards were so employed by J. Cæsar: Suet. Jul. 86.

[...]um, custodes additos, 'degredi' jubet. Ac, ne cœtu salutantium frequentaretur, separat domum, matremque transfert in eam, quæ Antoniæ[a] fuerat: quotiens ipse illuc ventitaret, septus turba centurionum, et post breve osculum digrediens.

19. Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiæ, non sua vi nixæ. Statim relictum Agrippinæ limen. Nemo solari, nemo adire, præter paucas fœminas, amore an odio, incertum. Ex quibus erat Junia Silana,[b] quam matrimonio C. Silii a Messalina depulsam, supra retuli;[c] insignis genere, forma, lascivia, et Agrippinæ diu percara: mox occultis inter eas offensionibus, quia Sextium Africanum,[d] nobilem juvenem, a nuptiis Silanæ deterruerat Agrippina, 'impudicam et vergentem annis' dictitans; non ut Africanum sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus et orbitate Silanæ maritus potiretur. Illa, spe ultionis oblata, parat accusatores ex clientibus suis, Iturium et Calvisium, non vetera, et sæpius jam audita deferens, 'quod Britannici mortem lugeret,' aut 'Octaviæ injurias evulgaret:' sed 'destinavisse eam, Rubellium Plautum,[e] per maternam originem pari ac Nero gradu a divo Augusto, ad res novas extollere; conjugioque ejus potiri, ac rempublicam rursus invadere:' hæc Iturius et Calvisius Atimeto, Domitiæ,[f] Neronis amitæ, liberto, aperiunt: qui lætus oblatis (quippe inter Agrippinam et Domitiam infensa æmulatio exercebatur) Paridem histrionem, libertum et ipsum Domitiæ, impulit 'ire propere, crimenque atrociter deferre.'

20. Provecta nox erat, et Neroni per vinolentiam trahebatur; cum ingreditur Paris, solitus alioquin id temporis lusus Principis intendere. Sed tunc compositus ad mœstitiam, expositoque indicii ordine, ita audientem

[a] *Antoniæ*] Of Antonia the elder, as it would seem, Nero's grandmother. Antonia the younger was Agrippina's grandmother. See St. C. 32. 42. This house of Antonia was perhaps in a part of the palace, as would appear from Val. Max. iv, 3, n. 3.

[b] *Junia Silana*] According to Lipsius, she was the sister of M. Junius Silanus, who is mentioned St. C. 57. but, as the historians make no mention of this affinity, this conjecture is unsupported. There were many others of the name of Junius Silanus, from whom she might have sprung.

[c] *Retuli*] A. xi, 12.

[d] *Sextium Africanum*] Lipsius thinks that this Sextius was the grandson of Julus Antonius, of whom in St. C. 29. but it is only a supposition, and cannot be proved. Of Africanus, see A. xiv, 46.

[e] *Rubellium Plautum*] Son of Rubellius Blandus, and of Julia, granddaughter of Tiberius. St. C. 76.

[f] *Domitiæ*] See St. C. 40.

exterret, ut non tantum matrem Plautumque interficere, sed Burrum etiam demovere præfectura destinaret, tamquam Agrippinæ gratia provectum, et vicem reddentem. Fabius Rusticus[g] auctor est, 'scriptos esse ad Cæcinam Tuscum codicillos, mandata ei prætoriarum cohortium cura: sed ope Senecæ dignationem Burro retentam.' Plinius[h] et Cluvius[i] nihil dubitatum de fide præfecti referunt: sane Fabius inclinat ad laudes Senecæ, cujus amicitia floruit. Nos consensum auctorum secuti, quæ diversa prodiderint, sub nominibus ipsorum trademus.[k] Nero trepidus, et interficiendæ matris avidus, non prius differri potuit, quam Burrus necem ejus promitteret, si facinoris coargueretur: 'sed cuicumque, nedum parenti, defensionem tribuendam: nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimica domo adferri: refutare tenebras,[l] et vigilatam convivio noctem, omniaque temeritati et inscitiæ propiora.'

21. Sic lenito Principis metu, et luce orta, itur ad Agrippinam, ut nosceret objecta, dissolveretque, vel pœna lueret. Burrus iis mandatis, Seneca coram, fungebatur: aderant et ex libertis, arbitri sermonis. Deinde a Burro, postquam crimina et auctores exposuit, minaciter actum. Agrippina, ferociæ memor, 'Non miror,' inquit, 'Silanam, numquam edito partu, matrum affectus ignotos habere: neque enim perinde a parentibus liberi, quam ab impudica adulteri mutantur; nec, si Iturius et Calvisius, adesis omnibus fortunis, novissimam suscipiendæ accusationis operam anui rependunt, ideo aut mihi infamia parricidii, aut Cæsari conscientia subeunda est. Nam Domitiæ inimicitiis gratias agerem, si benevolentia mecum in Neronem meum certaret: nunc per concubinum Atimetum, et histrionem Paridem, quasi scenæ fabulas componit. Baiarum suarum piscinas[m] extollebat,

[g] *Fabius Rusticus*] He is called 'eloquentissimus recentium auctor' in Agr. 10.

[h] *Plinius*] He had not written not only a natural history, but a history of his own times. See Pref. Hist. Nat.

[i] *Cluvius*] A man of consular dignity, a noble poet and historian. See Suet. Ner. 21. also below, H. iv, 43.

[k] *Trademus*] I should prefer *tradimus.*

[l] *Refutare tenebras*] The darkness, and the night devoted to feasting, and every thing favoring rash and ignorant tales, refute the accusation: for the accusers chose that time, to prevent the falsehood from being discovered by persons sober and awake, as Huet rightly explains it.

[m] *Baiarum suarum piscinas*] Baiæ,

cum meis consiliis adoptio, et proconsulare jus, et designatio consulatus, et cetera adipiscendo imperio præpararentur. Aut existat, qui cohortes in Urbe tentatas, qui provinciarum fidem labefactatam, denique servos vel libertos ad scelus corruptos arguat. Vivere ego, Britannico potiente rerum, poteram: at si Plautus,[n] aut quis alius, rempublicam judicaturus obtinuerit, desunt scilicet mihi accusatores, qui non verba, impatientia caritatis aliquando incauta, sed ea crimina objiciant, quibus, nisi a filio, absolvi non possim.' Commotis qui aderant, ultroque spiritus ejus mitigantibus, 'colloquium filii' exposcit: ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret; nec beneficiis, quasi exprobraret, disseruit; sed ultionem in delatores, et præmia amicis obtinuit.

22. Præfectura annonæ[o] Fenio Rufo; cura ludorum, qui a Cæsare parabantur, Arruntio Stellæ; Ægyptus C. Balbillo permittuntur.[p] Syria P. Anteio destinata: et variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in Urbe retentus est. At Silana in exilium acta. Calvisius quoque et

now *Castello di Baia*, in Campania and the Puteolan bay. There were the most splendid villas, and numerous fishponds, of whose greatness Pliny complains, xviii, 2. 'Bina tunc jugera populo Romano satis erant, nullique majorem modum attribuit [Romulus]: quo servos Neronis, contemtis hujus spatii viridariis, piscinas juvat habere majores: gratumque, si non aliquem et culinas.' In these ponds the Romans chiefly kept lampreys, but to such a silly degree, that Varro de R. R. iii, 17, writes even of his friend Hortensius, the orator, that he had as much care 'de ægrotis piscibus, quam de minus valentibus servis. Itaque minus laborabat, ne servus æger, quam aquam frigidam biberent sui pisces.' We have mentioned with horror in the notes to A. xii, 60, that Pollio fattened his lampreys with human blood. Antonia the wife of Drusus, as she was purer in her morals, so she was also in her pleasures; who 'murænæ, quam diligebat, inaures addidit: cujus propter famam nonnulli Baulos, [haud procul Baiis,] videre concupiverunt.' Plin. ix, 55. The verb 'extollo' was used before in this sense: A. xi, 1. How expensively the Romans adorned their fishponds, see in Plin. ix, 54.

[n] *Plautus*] Rubellius Plautus: ch. 19.

[o] *Præfectura annonæ*] It was the business of the 'præfectus annonæ' to take care that no one caused a fraudulent alteration in the public price of provisions, or made them dearer or cheaper. See Ulpian. Digest. lib. xlviii, Tit. 12. de lege Julia de Annona.

[p] *C. Balbillo permittuntur*] On account of the friendship of Agrippina. C. Balbillus was, as we learn from Seneca, Q. Nat. iv, 2. 'virorum optimus, in omni literarum genere rarissimus.' His rapid sail into Egypt is recorded by Plin. xix. in præf. 'Quod miraculum majus, herbam [linum ex quo vela conficiuntur,] esse, quæ admoveat Ægyptum Italiæ: in tantum, ut Galerius a freto Siciliæ Alexandriam septima die pervenerit, Babilius [melius *Balbillus*,] sexta, ambo præfecti.' In time the wonder became lessened. The name BALBILLVS is frequent in Inscriptions.

Iturius relegantur.[q] De Atimeto supplicium sumtum, validiore apud libidines Principis Paride,[r] quam ut pœna afficeretur. Plautus ad præsens[s] silentio transmissus est.

23. Deferuntur dehinc 'consensisse Pallas ac Burrus, ut Cornelius Sulla,[t] claritudine generis et adfinitate Claudii,' cui per nuptias Antoniæ[u] gener erat, 'ad imperium vocaretur.' Ejus accusationis auctor extitit Pætus quidam, exercendis apud ærarium sectionibus famosus,[v] et tum vanitatis manifestus.[x] Nec tam grata Pallantis innocentia, quam gravis superbia fuit: quippe nominatis libertis ejus, quos conscios haberet, respondit; 'nihil umquam se domi, nisi nutu aut manu, significasse, vel si plura demonstranda essent, scripto usum, ne vocem consociaret.'[y] Burrus, quamvis reus, inter judices sententiam dixit: exiliumque accusatori inrogatum, et tabulæ exustæ sunt, quibus obliterata ærarii monimenta[z] retrahebat.

24. Fine anni, statio cohortis,[a] adsidere ludis solita, demovetur, quo major species libertatis esset; utque miles, theatrali licentiæ non permixtus, incorruptior ageret, et plebes daret experimentum, an, amotis custodibus,

[q] *Relegantur*] But afterwards they were pardoned, and Silana returned to Tarentum: A. xiv, 12.

[r] *Paride*] Afterwards killed, as a 'gravis adversarius,' Suet. Ner. 54. That he was killed for not being able to teach Nero dancing, we learn from Dio, lxiii, p. 723.

[s] *Ad præsens*] But at length killed, A. xiv, 59.

[t] *Corn. Sulla*] Husband of Antonia. St. C. 107.

[u] *Antoniæ*] Daughter of Ælia Petina and Claudius. St. C. 105.

[v] *Sectionibus famosus*] The 'sectores' sold the goods of the condemned and the proscribed, and gave the purchase money into the treasury, or to their creditors. Hence Asconius in Verrem, i, 20. 'Sectorem autem dicit [Tullius], æstimatorem redemtoremque bonorum damnati atque proscripti, qui spem sectans lucri sui, id est, secutus spem æstimationis suæ, bona omnia auctione vendit, et semel infert pecuniam vel ærario vel sociis.' In ch. 23, in explaining the words, 'Quæ sectorem expectant repetundarum,' he says: 'Causa ita se habet, ut si convictus reus sit atque damnatus, pecuniam reddat, æstimata lite, hoc est, in pretium redactis omnium furtis, quam summam pecuniæ, proscriptis ejus bonis, sectores curabant. Sectores autem dicti sunt, qui spem lucri sui secuti, bona condemnatorum semel auctionabantur, proque his pecunias pensitabant singulis; ac postea pro compendio suo singulas quasque res pecunia populo vendituri.'

[x] *Vanitatis manifestus*] i.e. 'mendacii.' So Cic. Tusc. Q. iii, 1. 'Vanitati veritas cedit.'

[y] *Consociaret*] With freedmen, though he himself was one. The impudence of the man!

[z] *Ærarii monimenta*] The papers were burnt, in which Pætus revived and demanded old and obliterated debts.

[a] *Cohortis*] sc. 'prætoriæ.' See A. i, 77.

modestiam retineret. Urbem Princeps lustravit[b] e responso haruspicum, quod Jovis ac Minervæ ædes[c] de cœlo tactæ erant.

25. [A.U.C. 809. J.C. 56.] Q. Volusio, P. Scipione consulibus,[d] otium foris, fœda domi lascivia, qua Nero itinera Urbis, et lupanaria, et diverticula, veste servili in dissimulationem sui compositus, pererrabat,[e] comitantibus, qui raperent ad venditionem exposita, et obviis vulnera inferrent, adversus ignaros adeo, ut ipse quoque exciperet ictus, et ore præferret.[f] Deinde, ubi 'Cæsarem esse, qui grassaretur,' pernotuit, augebantur injuriæ adversus viros fœminasque insignes, et quidam, permissa semel licentia sub nomine Neronis, inulti, propriis cum globis, eadem exercebant, et in modum captivitatis nox agebatur. Julius quidem Montanus, senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem[g] capessisset, congressus forte

[b] *Lustravit*] In these lustrations songs were sung, and victims were slain at each gate. Claudius, who was the more superstitious as he was more dull of intellect, most diligently observed these ceremonies. See Suet. Claud. 22. In his reign, (the year is uncertain on account of the consuls who were elected temporarily to take the place of others) 'Bubo funebris, et maxime abominatus [publicis præcipue auspiciis], Capitolii cellam ipsam intravit, Sex. Palpelio Histro, L. Pedanio coss. propter quod Nonis Martiis Urbs lustrata est eo anno,' Plin. x, 12. But with what care these prayers were made, we learn from Plin. xxviii, 2. 'Vidimus certis precationibus obsecrasse summos magistratus: et ne quid verborum prætereatur, aut præposterum dicatur, de scripto præire aliquem, rursusque alium custodem dari qui attendat, alium vero præponi qui faveri linguis jubeat: tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur.'

[c] *Jovis ac Minervæ ædes*] In mount Capitoline.

[d] *P. Scipione coss.*] Q. Volusius Saturninus and P. Corn. Scipio were consuls A.U.C. 809. J.C. 56. Q. Volusius is the son of L. Volusius, of whom see, ch. 30.

[e] *Pererrabat*] This wanton disposition, unworthy of a prince, is mentioned by Suet. Ner. 26. 'Post crepusculum statim arrepto pileo vel galero, popinas inibat; circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus, nec sine pernicie tamen; siquidem redeuntes a cœna verberare ac repugnantes vulnerare, cloacisque demergere assueverat, tabernulas etiam effringere et expilare: quintana domi constituta, ubi partæ et ad licitationem dividendæ prædæ pretium assumeretur. Ac sæpe in ejusmodi rixis, oculorum et vitæ periculum adiit, a quodam laticlavio, cujus uxorem attrectaverat, prope ad necem cæsus. Quare numquam postea se publico illud horæ sine tribunis commisit, procul et occulte subsequentibus.' See also Dio, lxi, p. 693.

[f] *Ore præferret*] He applied salves, of which Plin. xiii, 22. Of the 'ferula,' which some have called 'thapsia,' 'alii folia, caulem, radicem tundunt in pila, et succum in sole coactum dividunt in pastillos. Nero Cæsar claritatem ei dedit initio imperii, nocturnis grassationibus converberatam faciem illinens sibi cum thure, ceraque, et, secuto die, contra famam cutem sinceram circumferens.'

[g] *Nondum honorem*] Still young, and only wearing the laticlave.

per tenebras cum Principe, quia vi attentantem acriter repulerat, deinde agnitum oraverat, quasi exprobrasset, mori adactus est. Nero autem, metuentior in posterum, milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit, qui rixarum initia modica, et quasi privata sinerent: si a læsis validius ageretur, arma inserebant. Ludicram quoque licentiam, et fautores histrionum velut in prælia convertit[h] impunitate et præmiis, atque ipse occultus, et plerumque coram prospectans: donec discordi populo, et gravioris motus terrore, non aliud remedium repertum est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur,[i] milesque theatro rursum adsideret.

26. Per idem tempus actum in senatu 'de fraudibus libertorum,' efflagitatumque, 'ut adversus male meritos revocandæ libertatis jus patronis daretur.'[k] Nec deerant qui censerent: sed consules, relationem incipere non ausi, ignaro Principe, perscripsere tamen consensum senatus: 'Ille jam auctor constitutionis fieret, ut inter paucos[l] et sententiæ adversos:' quibusdam coalitam libertate irreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus,[m] 'ut æquo cum patronis jure agerent, sententiam eorum consultarent, ac verberibus manus ultro intenderent, impudenter vel pœnam suam dissuadentes. Quid enim aliud læso patrono concessum,[n] quam ut vicesimum ultra lapidem[o] in oram Campaniæ libertum releget? Ceteras actiones promiscuas et pares esse. Tribuendum aliquod

[h] *In prælia convertit*] Suet. Ner. 26. 'Interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus [Nero] in theatrum, seditionibus pantomimorum ex parte proscenii superiori signifer simul ac spectator aderat: et cum ad manus ventum esset, lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse jecit in populum, atque etiam prætoris caput consauciavit.'

[i] *Italia pellerentur*] Already driven out by Tiberius: A. iv, 14.

[k] *Jus—daretur*] This was already allowed by the law of Claudius: but, as the laws of this prince were numerous, so were they without effect. The secret of all legislation should be to have few laws, and their violation rare, but never unpunished.

[l] *Inter paucos*] As those were few, who opposed the judgment of the senate.

[m] *Frementibus*] [This passage is very variously read and understood. Brotier's explanation shall be given in his own words:] 'Quibusdam senatoribus frementibus, irreverentiam, libertate coalitam, eo prorupisse, ut liberti æquo cum patronis jure agerent; si quid patroni pro jure suo contra libertos statuerent, sententiam eorum consultarent; verberibus etiam manus ultro intenderent, impudenter vel meritam pœnam dissuadentes. Quid enim aliud,' &c.

[n] *Concessum*] Perhaps by Augustus, who established the rights of freedmen and their patrons. See Dio, lv, p. 557.

[o] *Vicesimum ultra lapidem*] Twenty miles from the city.

telum, quod sperni nequeat. Nec grave manumissis, per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem,[p] per quod adsecuti sint. At criminum manifestos merito ad servitutem retrahi; ut metu coerceantur, quos beneficia non mutavissent.'

27. Disserebatur contra; 'Paucorum culpam ipsis exitiosam esse debere; nihil universorum juri derogandum: quippe late fusum id corpus. Hinc plerumque tribus, decurias,[q] ministeria[r] magistratibus et sacerdotibus, cohortes etiam in Urbe[s] conscriptas: et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus, non aliunde originem trahi. Si separarentur libertini, manifestam fore penuriam ingenuorum. Non frustra majores, cum dignitatem ordinum dividerent, libertatem in communi posuisse.[t] Quin et manumittendi duas species[u] institutas, ut relinqueretur

[p] *Retinendi libertatem*] A mode of speaking not common, but in no way barbarous. So in A. xv, 5. 'Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat, arma Romana vitandi.'

[q] *Decurias*] This is not to be taken of the 'decuriæ judicum,' as Lipsius rightly observes. There were many other decuriæ, as the 'decuriæ scribarum,' 'ærariorum,' 'librariorum,' &c., which are recorded in an ancient marble stone in Gori, Inscr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 308.

[r] *Ministeria*] Lictors, beadles, heralds, and many other attendants on the magistrates and priests.

[s] *Cohortes—Urbe*] Cohorts of the guards: and, what is still stronger, freedmen served in the army in Germany and Illyricum, in the reign of Augustus. Hence Suet. Aug. 25. 'Libertino milite, præterquam Romæ incendiorum causa, et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est; semel ad præsidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripæ Rheni.' See also Dio, lv, p. 569. lvi, p. 586.

[t] *Libertatem posuisse*] Servius Tullius had so distributed the dignity of the orders, that freedmen's sons were driven from the country tribes, and were put into those of the city, but had liberty given them in common with the rest. Afterwards, besides their general liberty, they were allowed, in case they had a son more than five years old, or possessed city or country estates of more than £250 value, to be admitted into the country tribes. See Sigon. de Jure Antiq. ii, 14.

[u] *Manumittendi duas species*] Of each Seneca makes mention, de Vita Beata, cap. 24. 'justæ libertatis, an inter amicos datæ.' The 'justa libertas' was given by the 'vindicta,' the 'census,' or by will, and was irrevocable: the 'libertas inter amicos,' given at an entertainment or by letter, might be recalled, and the freedman might become a slave again. Thus place was left for change of mind or a fresh act of kindness. Augustus had wisely advised Tiberius and the state not to free more, lest the city should be filled with a multitude of all descriptions: μήτ' ἀπελευθερῶσι πολλοὺς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, Dio, lvi, p. 591. But, like other princes, Augustus on his deathbed recommended a conduct widely different from that which he had himself practised. This is with spirit and with eloquence lamented by Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. iv, 24, p. 227, 228. But this evil, the most pernicious to the city, began to be serious under

pœnitentiæ aut novo beneficio locus. Quos vindicta patronus non liberaverit, velut vinculo servitutis attineri. Dispiceret quisque merita, tardeque concederet, quod datum non adimeretur.' Hæc sententia valuit; scripsitque Cæsar senatui, 'privatim expenderent causam libertorum, quotiens a patronis arguerentur: in commune nihil derogarent.' Nec multo post, ereptus amitæ libertus [w] Paris, quasi jure civili; non sine infamia Principis, cujus jussu perpetratum ingenuitatis judicium [x] erat.

28. Manebat nihilominus quædam imago reipublicæ: nam inter Vibullium prætorem et plebei tribunum Antistium ortum certamen, quod immodestos fautores histrionum, et a prætore in vincula ductos, tribunus 'omitti [y] jussisset:' comprobavere patres, incusata 'Antistii licentia.' Simul prohibiti tribuni 'jus prætorum et consulum præripere, aut vocare ex Italia [z] cum quibus lege agi posset.' Addidit L. Piso, designatus consul, 'ne quid intra domum [a] pro potestate animadverterent: neve mul-

Claudius, Plin. xxxiii, 2, and became incurable under the dominion of his freedmen.

[w] *Amitæ libertus*] Domitia, Nero's aunt: ch. 19.

[x] *Ingenuitatis judicium*] This passage might seem very obscure, not so much from the brevity of Tacitus, but from the great difference of our manners and those of Rome; but Cujacius has removed the obscurity. Domitia, Nero's aunt, had given freedom to Paris on receiving money from him: and thus he had been for some time Domitia's freedman: afterwards, by order of the Prince, he said he was freeborn, and that his manumission was no contradiction of it. He succeeded not without disgrace to the Prince, and demanded back the money he had given, as we learn from Digest. xii, Tit. iv. de condictione causa data, leg. 3. n. 5. ex Ulpian.: 'Julianus libro undecimo Digestorum scribit, competere manumisso repetitionem. Neratius etiam libro Membranarum refert Paridem pantomimum a Domitia Neronis filia, [corrige *amita*,] decem, quæ ei pro libertate dederat, repetisse per judicem; nec falsæ quæsitum, an Domitia sciens liberum accepisset.' 'Decem' is said for a general sum of money. 'Decem millia nummorum' would be only £83. 6s. 8d.

[y] *Omitti jussisset*] By his right as tribune, he ordered them to be set at liberty.

[z] *Vocare ex Italia*] Not summoning, but seizing only belonged to the tribunes, as is proved by examples in Gell. xiii, 12. Indeed at first the authority of the tribunes of the people was limited to a mile from the city, as is clear from Liv. iii, 20. 'Neque enim provocationem esse longius ab Urbe mille passuum; et tribunos, si eo adveniant in alia turba Quiritium, subjectos fore consulari imperio.'

[a] *Intra domum*] The tribunes of the people kept their houses open all night, to allow of the interposition of the tribunician authority in all places and at all times: but they did not interpose their authority within doors, where there was room for passion or caprice; but publicly, and before the tribunal.

tam ab iis dictam quæstores ærarii in publicas tabulas, intra quatuor menses, referrent; medio temporis contradicere liceret; deque eo consules statuerent.' Cohibita artius et ædilium potestas,[b] statutumque 'quantum curules, quantum plebei pignoris caperent, vel pœnæ inrogarent.' Eo Helvidius Priscus, tribunus plebis, adversus Obultronium Sabinum, ærarii quæstorem, contentiones proprias exercuit, 'tamquam jus hastæ adversus inopes inclementer augeret.' Dein Princeps curam tabularum publicarum a quæstoribus ad præfectos transtulit.

29. Varie habita, ac sæpe immutata ejus rei forma:[c] nam Augustus permisit senatui deligere præfectos: dein, ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero prætorum, qui præessent. Neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad parum idoneos. Tunc Claudius quæstores rursum imposuit; iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem honores promisit. Sed deerat robur ætatis eum primum magistratum capessentibus: igitur Nero prætura perfunctos, et experientia probatos delegit.

30. Damnatus iisdem consulibus Vipsanius Lenas, 'ob Sardiniam provinciam avare habitam.' Absolutus Cestius Proculus repetundarum, cedentibus accusatoribus. Clodius Quirinalis, 'quod præfectus remigum, qui Ravennæ haberentur, velut infimam nationum, Italiam luxuria sævitiaque adflictavisset,' veneno damnationem antevertit. C. Aminius Rebius, ex primoribus peritia legum et pecuniæ magnitudine, cruciatus ægræ senectæ, misso per venas sanguine, effugit: haud creditus sufficere ad constantiam sumendæ mortis, ob libidines muliebriter infamis. At L. Volusius[d] egregia fama concessit; cui

[b] *Ædilium potestas*] The curules and the ediles of the people had to attend to the price of provisions, to sacred matters, to public places, and to games; to take care that no fraud was committed in the articles of sale, or to remedy it by a *redhibitio*.

[c] *Forma*] See my essays on the Roman Treasury.

[d] *L. Volusius*] Whose son was consul this year, as we said in ch. 25. See also on A. xii, 22. Of the age of L. Volusius, Pliny says, vii, 14. 'Nuper etiam L. Volusio Saturnino, in Urbis præfectura extincto, notum e Cornelia, Scipionum gentis, Volusium Saturninum, qui fuit consul, genitum post LXII. annum:' and c. 48. 'M. Perpenna et nuper L. Volusius Saturninus, omnium, quos in consulatu sententiam rogaverant, superstites fuere.' He is mentioned for his knowlege of agriculture by Colum. de R. R. i, 7. 'Sed et ipse nostra memoria veterem consularem, virumque opulentissimum L. Volusium asseverantem audivi, patrisfamilias felicissimum fundum esse, qui colonos indigenas

tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi, præcipuæque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit.

31. [A.U.C. 810. J.C. 57.] Nerone secundum, L. Pisone consulibus,[e] pauca memoria digna evenere: nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, queis molem amphitheatri[f] apud campum Martis Cæsar exstruxerat, volumina implere: cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis Urbis actis mandare. Ceterum coloniæ Capua atque Nuceria,[g] additis veteranis, firmatæ sunt: plebeique congiarium,[h] quadringeni nummi[i] viritim dati, et sestertium quadringenties[k] ærario inlatum est ad retinendam populi fidem. Vectigal quoque quintæ et vicesimæ[l] venalium mancipiorum remissum, specie magis quam re:[m] quia cum venditor pendere juberetur, in partem pretii emtoribus adcrescebat. Edixit Cæsar, 'ne quis magistratus aut procurator, qui provinciam obtineret, spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum, aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet.' Nam

haberet, et tamquam in paterna possessione natos, jam inde a cunabulis longa familiaritate retineret.' For L. Volusius, the first accumulator of the wealth which raised the family to such a height, see A. iii, 30. The expressions of Pliny and Columella are thought by Crenius and Schoettgen without probability to apply to him.

[e] *L. Pisone coss.*] Nero Claudius Augustus for the second time and L. Calpurnius Piso were consuls A.U.C. 810. J.C. 57. From the Museum Albanum in Muratori, Thes. Inscr. Vol. i, p. 305.

NERONE CLAVDIO CAESARE
AVG. GERMANICO II
L. CALPVRNIO PISONE COS.

[f] *Molem amphitheatri*] This amphitheatre and these bloodless games are mentioned by Suet. Ner. 12. 'Munere, quod in amphitheatro ligneo, in regione Martii campi intra anni spatium fabricato, dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem.' Plin. also, xix, 1. 'Vela nuper colore cœli, stellata, per rudentes iere etiam in amphitheatro Principis Neronis.' There then was 'trabs e larice, longa pedes cxx. bipedali crassitudine æqualis. Quo intelligebatur vix credibilis reliqua altitudo [arboris], fastigium ad cacumen æstimantibus.' Plin. xvi, 40.

[g] *Capua—Nuceria*] For Capua, see A. iv, 57. Nuceria is now *Nocera*. That Augustus sent a colony to Capua, we learn from Plin. xviii, 11.

[h] *Plebeique congiarium*] Of this a record is extant in a large brass coin in Harduin. Select. Opp. p. 722. NERO CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P.: the head of Nero is crowned with laurel. On the opposite side is CONGIAR. II. DAT. POP. &c. 'Congiarium secundum datum populo senatus consulto.'

[i] *Quadringeni nummi*] £3. 6s. 8d.

[k] *Et sestertium quadringenties*] £333,333. 6s. 8d.

[l] *Quintæ et vicesimæ*] Cic. ad Att. ii, 16. 'Portoriis Italiæ sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum præter vicesimam?'

[m] *Specie — re*] So the sense requires, and so Huet corrects the text. In the Mss. and Edd. it is ill read *specie magis quam ri*. Whence Petavius conjectured that something was wanting.

ante non minus tali largitione, quam corripiendis pecuniis, subjectos adfligebant; dum quæ libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.[n]

32. Factum et senatusconsultum[o] ultioni juxta et securitati, 'ut si quis a suis servis interfectus esset, ii quoque, qui testamento manumissi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos supplicia penderent.' Redditur ordini Lurius Varius, consularis, avaritiæ criminibus[p] olim perculsus: et Pomponia Græcina, insignis fœmina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britanniis retulit,[q] nupta, ac superstitionis externæ'[r] rea, mariti judicio permissa: isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiæ ætas, et continua tristitia fuit: nam post Juliam, Drusi filiam,[s] dolo Messalinæ interfectam, per

[n] *Ambitu propugnant*] Their delinquencies, arising from their insatiable avarice, they not only excused, but defended by an extravagant exhibition of games; and gave out that they spent on the amusements of the people and the splendor of the state the money which they got for their own pleasures.

[o] *Senatusconsultum*] Its severity is excused by Ulpian. Digest. xxix, Tit. v, de Senatusconsulto Silaniano et Claudiano, Leg. 1. 'Cum aliter nulla domus tuta esse possit, nisi, periculo capitis sui, custodiam domini, tam a domesticis quam ab extraneis, præstare servi cogantur, ideo senatusconsulta introducta sunt de publica quæstione a familia necatorum habenda.' This decree is called 'Silonianum,' as being first brought in under Augustus in the consulate of Dolabella and Silanus, A.U.C. 763; 'Claudianum,' as it was renewed through Nero, who was adopted by Claudius; 'Neronianum,' from Nero; and 'Pisonianum,' from his colleague Piso. See A. xiv, 42.

[p] *Avaritiæ criminibus*] Avarice was not an old evil in the state, as we learn from Cic. Off. ii, 21. but, when it came in, it soon pervaded every department, and drained the provinces and the city. Vain was the admonition of Juv. vii, 87. 'Expectata diu tandem provincia cum te Rectorem accipiat, pone iræ frena modumque, Pone et avaritiæ.' Hence he says indignantly, i, 73. 'Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum, Si vis esse aliquis. Probitas laudatur et alget. Criminibus debent hortos, prætoria, mensas, Argentum vetus, et stantem extra pocula caprum.'

[q] *Retulit*] So Virg. Æn. vii, 286. 'Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis Sæva Jovis conjux, aurasque invecta tenebat.'

[r] *Superstitionis externæ*] By this odious name I suppose the Christian religion is meant. So think Lipsius, Rhenanus, Ryck, and Ernesti: for at this time our religion extended itself even in the palace of Nero, as we learn from St. Paul, Philipp. iv, 22. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. See also Epist. to the Romans, xvi. On the law of life and death, which was formerly allowed to husbands over their wives when guilty of crime, see Heinecc. Antiq. Rom. Jurispr. i, 10, n. 6.

[s] *Juliam, Drusi filiam*] Daughter of Drusus and Livia.

quadraginta annos,[t] non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi mœsto egit; idque illi, imperitante Claudio, impune,[u] mox ad gloriam vertit.

33. Idem annus plures reos habuit: quorum P. Celerem, accusante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Cæsar, traxit,[v] senecta donec mortem obiret. Nam Celer, interfecto, ut memoravi,[x] Silano proconsule, magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossutianum Capitonem[y] Cilices detulerant, 'maculosum fœdumque, et idem jus audaciæ in provincia ratum, quod in Urbe exercuerat.' Sed pervicaci accusatione conflictatus, postremo defensionem omisit, ac lege repetundarum damnatus est.[z] Pro Eprio Marcello,[a] a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus[b] prævaluit, ut quidam accusatorum ejus exilio multarentur, 'tamquam insonti periculum fecissent.'

34. [A.U.C. 811. J.C. 58.] Nerone tertium consule, simul iniit consulatum[c] Valerius Messala, cujus proavum, oratorem Corvinum,[d] divo Augusto, abavo Neronis,[e] collegam in eo magistratu fuisse, pauci jam senum meminerant: sed nobili familiæ honor auctus est, oblatis in singulos annos quingenis sestertiis,[f] quibus Messala paupertatem innoxiam sustentaret. Aurelio quoque Cottæ et Haterio Antonino annuam pecuniam statuit Princeps,

[t] *Quadraginta annos*] Therefore Pomponia Græcina died A.U.C. 836. J.C. 83.

[u] *Impune*] On account of the valor of Plautius, and the British expedition which was on the eve of taking place.

[v] *Traxit*] Nero deferred the trial of P. Celer, till at length he died of old age.

[x] *Ut memoravi*] Ch. 1.

[y] *Cossutianum Capitonem*] See A. xi, 6. His case was tried, while Quinctilian was still young, as he tells us, Inst. Orat. vi, 1. Juvenal mentions it by way of example, viii, 91. 'Respice quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet, Præmia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine justo Et Capito et Numitor ruerint, damnante senatu, Piratæ Cilicum.'

[z] *Damnatus est*] He lost his senatorial rank, A. xiv, 48. which was a light punishment; since those who were convicted of extortion were threatened by law with 'exilium, deportatio, verbera.' See Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. p. 695, &c.

[a] *Eprio Marcello*] Frequently mentioned in the books of History.

[b] *Ambitus*] i. e. 'gratia.'

[c] *Iniit consulatum*] Nero Claudius Augustus for the third time, and Valerius Messala entered on the consulate A.U.C. 811. J.C. 58.

[d] *Proavum — Corvinum*] Augustus for the third time, and M. Messala Corvinus, great-grandfather of Valerius, had been consuls A.U.C. 723. A.C. 30.

[e] *Abavo Neronis*] Through his mother Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus. St. C. 93. 35.

[f] *Quingenis sestertiis*] £4166.13s.4d. The same is mentioned by Suet. Ner. 10.

quamvis per luxum avitas opes dissipassent. Ejus anni principio, mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum[g] acriter sumitur: quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridaten dati a se regni expertem esse, aut alienæ id potentiæ donum habere: et Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur, parta olim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. Ad hæc Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores, connubiisque permixti, ac libertate ignota, illuc magis ad servitium inclinantes.

35. Sed Corbuloni plus molis adversus ignaviam militum, quam contra perfidiam hostium erat: quippe Syria transmotæ legiones, pace longa segnes, munia Romanorum ægerrime tolerabant. Satis constitit fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos, qui non stationem, non vigilias inissent; vallum fossamque quasi nova et mira viserent; sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quæstuosi,[h] militia per oppida expleta. Igitur dimissis, quibus senecta aut valetudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit: et habiti per Galatiam ac Cappadociam delectus; adjectaque ex Germania legio, cum equitibus alariis, et peditatu cohortium: retentusque omnis exercitus sub pellibus, quamvis hyeme sæva adeo, ut obducta glacie, nisi effossa, humus tentoriis locum non præberet. Ambusti multorum artus vi frigoris, et quidam inter excubias exanimati sunt: adnotatusque miles, qui fascem lignorum gestabat, ita præriguisse manus, ut oneri adhærentes, truncis brachiis deciderent.[i] Ipse cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus, frequens adesse: laudem strenuis, solatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. Dehinc quia duritiam cœli militiæque multi

[g] *Bellum*] We saw the war commenced in A. xii, 50.

[h] *Nitidi et quæstuosi*] Neat in their person and dress, fond of lucre, and in these opulent towns devoted to traffic.

[i] *Deciderent*] An eminent writer, and an imitator of the ancients, de Comines, Mémoires, ii, 14, states that he saw in Belgium, in the year 1468, dead men who had lost their fingers from cold. Nicholas Coustureau, Vie de Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, p. 53, saw, in the year 1569, in Gaul, the toes and the fingers fall from the hands and feet of many common soldiers and officers of rank. The severe winter, which the army of Soliman the second suffered in Persia in 1534, is described by Leunclav. Hist. Musulman. Col. 772. And here doubtless will occur to the reader that most bitter season, in which our troops, who had before this suffered most unusually from the cold, fled into Germany, on the capture of Holland by the French, in 1794.

abnuebant, deserebantque, remedium severitate quæsitum est. Nec enim, ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque delictum venia prosequebatur, sed qui signa reliquerat statim capite pœnas luebat: idque usu salubre, et misericordia melius apparuit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere, quam ea in quibus ignoscebatur.

36. Interim Corbulo, legionibus intra castra habitis donec ver adolesceret, dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus auxiliariis, ne pugnam priores auderent, prædicit. Curam præsidiorum Pactio Orphito, primipili honore[k] perfuncto, mandat. Is, quamquam incautos barbaros, et bene gerendæ rei casum offerri scripserat, 'tenere se munimentis, et majores copias opperiri' jubetur. Sed rupto imperio, postquam paucæ e proximis castellis turmæ advenerant, pugnamque imperitia poscebant, congressus cum hoste funditur; et damno ejus exterriti qui subsidium ferre debuerant, sua quisque in castra trepida fuga rediere. Quod graviter Corbulo accepit: increpitumque Pactium, et præfectos militesque, 'tendere omnes extra vallum'[l] jussit: inque ea contumelia detenti, nec nisi precibus universi exercitus exsoluti sunt.

37. At Tiridates, super proprias clientelas,[m] ope Vologesi fratris adjutus, non furtim jam, sed palam bello infensare Armeniam, quosque fidos nobis rebatur, depopulari; et si copiæ contra ducerentur, eludere; huc quoque et illuc volitans, plura fama quam pugna exterrere. Igitur Corbulo, quæsito diu prælio, frustra habitus, et exemplo hostium circumferre bellum coactus, dispartit vires; ut legati præfectique diversos locos pariter invaderent: simul regem Antiochum[n] monet, 'proximas sibi præfec-

[k] *Primipili honore*] Dignity of first centurion. See on A. ii, 11.

[l] *Extra vallum*] As unworthy of society or of contact: for this was a military punishment, and formerly exercised with great severity. For, according to Livy, x, 4. 'Cohortes, quæ signa amiserant, extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas, invenit [dictator Valerius Maximus].' The advantages of severe discipline resulting to Corbulo, we learn from Frontin. Strateg. iv, 2. n. 3. 'Domitius Corbulo, duabus legionibus et paucissimis auxiliis, disciplina correcta, Parthos sustinuit.' I will mention a saying of his found in Frontin. iv, 7. n. 2. 'Domitius Corbulo dolabra, id est, operibus, hostem vincendum esse dicebat.'

[m] *Proprias clientelas*] Of the Armenians and other nations which were under him.

[n] *Regem Antiochum*] King of Commagena: ch. 7.

tutius potere.' Nam Pharasmanes, interfecto filio Rhadamisto, 'quasi proditore sui,' quo fidem in nos testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium promtius exercebat. Tuncque primum illecti Isichi,[o] gens haud alias socia Romanis, avia Armeniæ incursavit. Ita consilia Tiridati in contrarium vertebant: mittebatque oratores, qui suo Parthorumque nomine expostularent; 'cur datis nuper obsidibus, redintegrataque amicitia, quæ novis quoque beneficiis locum aperiret, vetere Armeniæ possessione depelleretur? Ideo nondum ipsum Vologesen commotum, quia causa quam vi agere mallent. Sin perstaretur in bello; non defore Arsacidis virtutem fortunamque, sæpius jam clade Romana expertam.' Ad ea Corbulo, satis comperto, Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniæ[p] attineri, suadet Tiridati, 'precibus Cæsarem adgredi: posse illi regnum stabile, et res incruentas contingere, si omissa spe longinqua et sera, præsentem potioremque sequeretur.'

38. Placitum dehinc, 'quia commeantibus invicem nuntiis, nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur, colloquio ipsorum tempus locumque destinari. Mille equitum præsidium' Tiridates 'affore sibi' dicebat: 'quantum Corbuloni cujusque generis militum adsisteret, non statuere, dum positis loricis et galeis, in faciem pacis,[q] veniretur.' Cuicumque mortalium, nedum veteri et provido duci, barbaræ astutiæ patuissent. 'Ideo arctum inde numerum finiri, et hinc majorem offerri, ut dolus pararetur: nam equiti, sagittarum usu exercito, si detecta corpora objicerentur, nihil profuturam multitudinem.' Dissimulato tamen intellectu, 'rectius de his, quæ in publicum consulerentur, totis exercitibus coram dissertaturos' respondit: locumque delegit, cujus pars altera colles erant clementer adsurgentes, accipiendis peditum ordinibus; pars in planitiem porrigebatur, ad explicandas equitum turmas. Dieque pacto, prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum pro cornibus, medio sextam legionem constituit; cui accita per noctem aliis ex castris, tria millia tertianorum[r] per-

[o] *Isichi*] A people mentioned only by Tacitus. They seem to have lived between the western and northern boundaries of Armenia. By Pliny, vi, 4, is mentioned the river Isis, whence perhaps the name of the nation. The Isis, now *Tchorok*, flows into the Black Sea eastward.

[p] *Hyrcaniæ*] *Mazanderan* and *Corcan*.

[q] *Faciem pacis*] Peace, but not of war.

[r] *Tertianorum*] Of the third legion.

miscuerat, una cum aquila, quasi eadem legio[s] spectaretur. Tiridates, vergente jam die, procul adstitit, unde videri magis quam audiri posset. Ita sine congressu dux Romanus abscedere militem sua quemque in castra jubet.

39. Rex, sive fraudem suspectans, quia plura simul in loca ibatur, sive ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari[t] et Trapezunte[u] oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. Sed neque commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebantur præsidiis nostris insessos: et Corbulo, ne inritum bellum traheretur, utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret, exscindere parat castella: sibique, quod validissimum in ea præfectura,[v] cognomento Volandum,[x] sumit; minora Cornelio Flacco legato, et Insteio Capitoni castrorum præfecto, mandat. Tum circumspectis munimentis, et quæ expugnationi idonea, provisis, hortatur milites, 'ut hostem vagum, neque paci aut prælio paratum, sed perfidiam et ignaviam fuga confitentem, exuerent sedibus, gloriæque pariter et prædæ consulerent.' Tum quadripartito exercitu, hos in testudinem[y] conglobatos, subruendo vallo inducit; alios scalas mœnibus admovere, multos tormentis faces et hastas incutere jubet. Libratoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes torquerent; ne qua pars subsidium laborantibus ferret, pari undique motu. Tantus inde ardor certantis exercitus fuit, ut intra tertiam diei partem, nudati propugnatoribus muri, obices portarum subversi, capta escensu[z] munimenta, omnesque puberes trucidati sint, nullo milite amisso, paucis admodum vulneratis: et imbelle vulgus sub corona[a] venum-

[s] *Quasi eadem legio*] As if only one legion were seen and were present.

[t] *Pontico mari*] Now *the Black Sea.*

[u] *Trapezunte*] Now *Tarabozan*, commonly *Trebizond.* It is mentioned by Plin. vi, 4. 'Trapezus liberum, vasto monte clausum.'

[v] *Ea præfectura*] Of the 'præfecturæ' of Armenia, Plin. vi, 9. 'Dividitur (quod certum est) in præfecturas, quas στρατηγίας vocant, quasdam ex iis vel singula regna quondam, barbaris nominibus 120.'

[x] *Volandum*] This castle is mentioned only by Tacitus. From his account these castles seem to have been in the Heniochian or Moschican mountains, in which rises the river Cyrus, now *the Kur.* But here Tacitus speaks of matters unrelated by others, as does also Pliny, vi, 8. '[In hoc sinu] multa aliter ac veteres proditurum me non eo inficias, anxia perquisita cura, rebus nuper in eo situ gestis a Domitio Corbulone, regibusque inde missis supplicibus, aut regum liberis obsidibus.'

[y] *In testudinem*] The Romans imitated a tortoise by joining their shields close together. See Dio, xlix, p. 409.

[z] *Escensu*] i. e. 'ascensu;' assault.

[a] *Sub corona*] Of which custom Gell. vii, 5. 'Siculi, inquit [Cælius Sabinus] jurisperitus, antiquitus mancipia jure belli capta coronis induta veniebant, et idcirco dicebantur sub

datum: reliqua præda victoribus cessit. Pari fortuna legatus ac præfectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expugnatis, cetera terrore, et alia sponte incolarum, in deditionem veniebant; unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata[b] adgrediendi. Nec tamen proximo itinere ductæ legiones, quæ si amnem Araxen,[c] qui mœnia adluit, ponte transgrederentur, sub ictum dabantur: procul, et latioribus vadis transiere.

40. At Tiridates, pudore et metu, ne, si concessisset obsidioni, nihil opis in ipso videretur; si prohiberet, impeditis locis seque et equestres copias inligaret; statuit postremo ostendere aciem, et dato die[d] prælium incipere, vel simulatione fugæ locum fraudi parare. Igitur repente agmen Romanum circumfundit, non ignaro duce nostro, qui viæ pariter et pugnæ composuerat exercitum. Latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro sexta incedebat, mediis decumanorum[e] delectis: recepta inter ordines impedimenta, et tergum mille equites tuebantur: quibus jusserat, 'ut instantibus cominus resisterent, refugos non sequerentur.' In cornibus pedites sagittariique, et cetera manus equitum ibat, productior cornu in sinistro per ima collium, ut si hostis intravisset, fronte simul et sinu exciperetur. Adsultare ex diverso Tiridates, non usque ad jactum teli, sed tum minitans, tum specie trepidantis, si laxare ordines et diversos consectari posset. Ubi nihil temeritate solutum, nec amplius[f] quam decurio equitum, audentius progressus, et sagittis confixus, ceteros ad obsequium exemplo firmaverat, propinquis jam tenebris abscessit.

41. Et Corbulo, castra in loco metatus, an expeditis

corona venire: namque ut ea corona signum erat captivorum venalium, ita pileus impositus demonstrabat ejusmodi servos venumdari, quorum nomine emtori venditor nihil præstaret. Est autem alia rationis hujus opinio, cur dici solitum sit captivos sub corona venumdari, quod milites, custodiæ causa, captivorum venalium greges circumstarent: eaque circumstatio militum corona appellata sit. Sed id magis verum est quod supra dixi.'

[b] *Artaxata*] The ruins remain near Koïrvirab, as was said in A. ii, 65.

[c] *Araxen*] Now *the Aras*. A. xii, 51.

[d] *Dato die*] Late in the day he displays his army, intending to fight next day.

[e] *Mediis decumanorum*] Chosen men of the tenth legion were posted in the middle.

[f] *Nec amplius*] When Tiridates saw that the discipline was in no way relaxed through temerity; but that, after the single instance of an officer of the horse, who had advanced too confidently, and was killed by the enemy's arrows, the rest of the Romans adhered firmly to orders, he retreated at the close of day. The 'turmæ' of the cavalry were divided into 'decuriæ,' or ten men headed by a 'decurio.'

legionibus nocte Artaxata pergeret, obsidioque circumdaret, agitavit, concessisse illuc Tiridaten ratus. Dein postquam exploratores attulere 'longinquum regis iter, et Medi an Albani[g] peterentur, incertum,' lucem opperitur: præmissaque levis armatura, quæ muros interim ambiret, oppugnationemque eminus inciperet. Sed oppidani, portis sponte patefactis, se suaque Romanis permisere: quod salutem ipsis tulit. Artaxatis ignis immissus, deletaque et solo adæquata sunt: quia nec teneri sine valido præsidio, ob magnitudinem mœnium; nec id nobis virium erat, quod firmando præsidio, et capessendo bello divideretur: vel si integra et incustodita relinquerentur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria, quod capta essent. Adjicitur miraculum, velut numine oblatum: nam cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole inlustria fuere; quod mœnibus cingebatur, ita repente atra nube coopertum, fulguribusque discretum est, ut, quasi infensantibus Deis, exitio tradi crederetur. Ob hæc consalutatus Imperator[h] Nero: ex senatusconsulto 'supplicationes' habitæ:[i] 'statuæque et arcus, et continui consulatus Principi: utque inter festos referretur dies, quo patrata victoria, quo nuntiata, quo relatum de ea esset,' aliaque in eamdem formam decernuntur, adeo modum egressa, ut C. Cassius, de ceteris honoribus adsensus, 'si pro benignitate fortunæ Diis grates agerentur, ne totum quidem annum[k] supplicationibus sufficere' disseruerit: 'eoque oportere dividi sacros et negotiosos dies, queis divina colerent, et humana non impedirent.'

42. Variis deinde casibus jactatus, et multorum odia meritus reus, haud tamen sine invidia Senecæ, damnatur. Is fuit P. Suilius,[l] imperitante Claudio, terribilis ac venalis, et mutatione temporum, non, quantum inimici cuperent, demissus: quique se nocentem videri quam supplicem mallet. Ejus opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur

[g] *Medi an Albani*] He assailed the Medes, as is clear from A. xiv, 26.

[h] *Consalutatus imperator*] There are many coins on this subject in Harduin. Select. Opp. p. 722. The most remarkable is a silver coin in the Royal Museum, NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS. His head is wreathed with laurel. On the opposite side, ARMENIAC. i. e. Armeniacus. Victory walks forward with a palm and a crown.

[i] *Supplicationes habitæ*] At this season all the temples were opened; and the gods were supplicated at all the 'pulvinaria.' This is well known, and is frequently met with in Livy and the other historians.

[k] *Totum quidem annum*] Alluding to the immoderate number of festivals.

[l] *P. Suilius*] See A. iv, 31. xi, 1. &c.

senatusconsultum, pœnaque Cinciæ legis,[m] adversus eos, qui pretio causas oravissent: nec Suilius questu aut exprobratione abstinebat, præter ferociam animi, extrema senecta liber, et Senecam increpans, 'infensum amicis Claudii, sub quo justissimum exilium pertulisset: simul studiis inertibus, et juvenum imperitiæ suetum, livere his, qui vividam et incorruptam eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent. Se quæstorem Germanici;[n] illum domus ejus adulterum[o] fuisse. An gravius existimandum, sponte litigatoris præmium honestæ operæ adsequi, quam corrumpere cubicula Principum fœminarum? Qua sapientia, quibus philosophorum præceptis, intra quadriennium regiæ amicitiæ, ter millies sestertium[p] paravisset? Romæ testamenta et orbos[q] velut indagine ejus capi: Italiam et provincias immenso fœnore[r] hauriri. At sibi labore quæsitam, et modicam pecuniam esse. Crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum, quam veterem ac olim partam dignationem subitæ felicitati submitteret.'

43. Nec deerant, qui hæc iisdem verbis, aut versa in deterius, Senecæ deferrent: repertique accusatores, 'direptos socios, cum Suilius provinciam Asiam regeret, ac publicæ pecuniæ peculatum' detulere. Mox, quia inquisitionem annuam impetraverant, brevius visum, suburbana crimina[s] incipi, quorum obvii testes erant. Ii, 'acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium[t] ad necessitatem belli civilis detrusum: Juliam Drusi filiam, Sabinamque Poppæam[v] ad mortem actas; et Valerium Asiaticum,[x] Lusium

[m] *Cinciæ legis*] For this decree and the Cincian law, see on A. xi, 5. 7.

[n] *Quæstorem Germanici*] A. iv, 31.

[o] *Adulterum*] Messalina had accused Seneca of adultery with Julia, daughter of Germanicus; and had him banished.

[p] *Ter m. sestertium*] £2,500,000. In Ms. Reg. it is *sex millies sestertium:* but apparently through the mistake of the copyist: for Dio also has the former sum, lxi, p. 694: ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων (δραχμῶν).

[q] *Et orbos*] For the rewards attached to such as had no children, see on G. 20.

[r] *Immenso fœnore*] By what immense usury Seneca at that time drained Italy and the provinces, we may learn from Dio, lxii, p. 701. Even to the Britons against their will he had lent as much as £333,333. 6s. 8d., and on his redemanding it with severity and at an enormous usury, a rebellion succeeded.

[s] *Suburbana crimina*] Committed in the city and the suburbs.

[t] *Q. Pomponium*] This was a restless character, as was observed A. vi, 18. See also Dio, lix, p. 644. 661.

[v] *Sabinamque Poppæam*] Mentioned above, A. xi, 2. 4.

[x] *Valerium Asiaticum*] See as above.

Saturninum,[y] Cornelium Lupum circumventos; jam equitum Romanorum agmina damnata, omnemque Claudii sævitiam' Suilio objectabant. Ille, 'nihil ex his sponte susceptum, sed Principi paruisse,' defendebat, donec eam orationem Cæsar cohibuit, 'compertum sibi,' referens, 'ex commentariis patris sui, nullam cujusquam accusationem ab eo coactam.' Tum 'jussa Messalinæ' prætendi, et labare defensio. 'Cur enim neminem alium delectum, qui sævienti impudicæ vocem præberet? Puniendos rerum atrocium ministros, ubi pretia scelerum adepti, scelera ipsa aliis delegent.'[z] Igitur ademta bonorum parte (nam filio et nepti pars concedebatur,[a] eximebanturque etiam quæ testamento matris aut aviæ acceperant) in insulas Baleares[b] pellitur: non in ipso discrimine, non post damnationem fractus animo: ferebaturque copiosa et molli vita secretum illud toleravisse. Filium ejus Nerulinum, adgressis accusatoribus, per invidiam patris et crimina repetundarum, intercessit Princeps, tamquam satis expleta ultione.

44. Per idem tempus, Octavius Sagitta, plebei tribunus, Pontiæ, mulieris nuptæ, amore vecors, ingentibus donis adulterium, et mox ut omitteret maritum, emercatur; suum matrimonium promittens, ac nuptias ejus pactus. Sed ubi mulier vacua fuit,[c] nectere moras, 'adversam patris voluntatem' causari, repertaque spe ditioris conjugis, promissa exuere. Octavius contra modo conqueri, modo minitari, 'famam perditam, pecuniam exhaustam,' obtestans: denique salutem, quæ sola reliqua esset, arbitrio ejus permittens. Ac postquam spernebatur, 'noctem unam ad solatium' poscit, 'qua delinitus, modum in posterum adhiberet.' Statuitur nox: et Pontia consciæ ancillæ custodiam cubiculi mandat. Ille, uno cum liberto, ferrum veste occultum infert. Tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, jurgia, preces, exprobratio, satisfactio,[d] et pars tenebrarum

[y] *Lusium Saturninum*] Seneca, in his 'Αποκολοκύντωσις, (near the end) says that this person and many others of his relatives, senators and knights, were killed by Claudius.

[z] *Scelera—delegent*] See Vell. Ruhnk. ii, 44.

[a] *Pars concedebatur*] The half of it. See Cujac. Obss. vi, 23.

[b] *In insulas Baleares*] Now *Majorca* and *Minorca*.

[c] *Vacua fuit*] By her divorce. A woman was then called *vacua*, because she had a *vacatio* from the Lex Julia Poppæa. See Brisson in Lex. Juris, in the word 'Vacatio.'

[d] *Satisfactio*] Terent. Eun. I, 1, 14. 'In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia: injuriæ, Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ, Bellum, pax rursum.'

libidine seposita:[e] et questu[f] incensus, nihil metuentem ferro transverberat, et accurrentem ancillam vulnere absterret, cubiculoque prorumpit. Postera die manifesta cædes, haud ambiguus percussor: quippe mansitasse una convincebatur. Sed libertus 'suum illud facinus' profiteri, 'se patroni injurias ultum esse:' commoveratque quosdam magnitudine exempli; donec ancilla, ex vulnere refecta, verum aperuit; postulatusque apud consules a patre interfectæ, postquam tribunatu abierat,[g] sententia patrum, et lege de sicariis condemnatur.[h]

45. Non minus insignis, eo anno, impudicitia magnorum reipublicæ malorum initium fecit. Erat in civitate Sabina Poppæa,[i] T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumserat, inlustri memoria Poppæi Sabini,[k] consulari et triumphali decore præfulgentis: nam Ollium, honoribus nondum functum,[l] amicitia Sejani pervertit. Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere, præter honestum animum: quippe mater ejus,[m] ætatis suæ fœminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat. Opes claritudini generis sufficiebant. Sermo comis, nec absurdum ingenium: modestiam præferre, et lascivia uti: rarus in publicum egressus; idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat. Famæ numquam pepercit, maritos et adulteros non distinguens: neque affectui suo, aut alieno obnoxia; unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libidinem transferebat. Igitur agentem eam in matrimonio Rufi Crispini, equitis Romani, ex quo filium genuerat,[n] Otho[o] pellexit juventa ac luxu, et quia

[e] *Libidine seposita*] *Libidini* would be better.

[f] *Et questu*] We may observe on the negligence of these periods: *Et Pontia—et ira—et pars—et questu—et accurrentem*. But *et questu* I think is not genuine.

[g] *Tribunatu abierat*] Not before, to support the dignity of his office.

[h] *Lege—condemnatur*] He is condemned by the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis, and banished: H. iv, 44. For the Lex Cornelia, see Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. p. 721, &c.

[i] *Sabina Poppæa*. St. C. 37.

[k] *Poppæi Sabini*] He seems to be the C. Poppæus Sabinus, who was consul A.U.C. 762.

[l] *Nondum functum*] The higher offices. He had obtained the quæstorship, (Suet. Ner. 35.) which led to them.

[m] *Mater ejus*] See A. xi, 1.

[n] *Filium genuerat*] Rufinus Crispinus, whom 'impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus et imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piscaretur, servis ipsius demandavit' Nero. Suet. Ner. 35.

[o] *Otho*] Afterwards emperor. Tacitus however, in Hist. i, 13, otherwise relates the amour of Otho and Poppæa. Our author, who wrote the Histories first, seems afterwards to have had better information.

flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur: nec mora, quin adulterio matrimonium jungeretur.

46. Otho, sive amore incautus, laudare 'formam elegantiamque uxoris' apud Principem; sive ut accenderet, ac, si eadem fœmina potirentur, id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adjiceret. Sæpe auditus est consurgens e convivio Cæsaris, 'se ire ad illam, sibi concessam' dictitans 'nobilitatem, pulchritudinem, vota omnium, et gaudia felicium.' His atque talibus inritamentis, non longa cunctatio interponitur. Sed accepto aditu, Poppæa primum per blandimenta et artes valescere, 'imparem cupidini se, et forma Neronis captam' simulans: mox, acri jam Principis amore, ad superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur, 'nuptam esse se' dictitans, 'nec posse matrimonium amittere, devinctam Othoni per genus vitæ, quod nemo adæquaret. Illum animo et cultu magnificum: ibi se summa fortuna digna visere. At Neronem, pellice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum, nil e contubernio servili, nisi abjectum et sordidum traxisse.' Dejicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu, Otho: et ad postremum, ne in Urbe æmulatus ageret,[p] provinciæ Lusitaniæ præficitur: ubi usque ad civilia arma, non ex priore infamia, sed integre sancteque egit, procax otii, et potestatis temperantior.

47. Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quæsivit. Suspectabat maxime[q] Cornelium Sullam, socors ingenium ejus in contrarium trahens, callidumque et simulatorem interpretando. Quem metum Graptus, ex libertis Cæsaris, usu et senecta a Tiberio usque domum Principum edoctus, tali mendacio intendit. Pons Milvius[r] in eo tempore celebris[s] nocturnis inlecebris erat:

[p] *Ne—æmulatus ageret*] Rather *æmulus*. Suet. Oth. 3. '[Poppæam Sabinam] adeo dilexit [Otho], ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem æquo tulerit animo.' Another reason is mentioned by Dio, lxi, p. 694. for, when Otho had addressed to Nero the words 'Sic me Cæsarem videas,' Nero answered him, 'Te ne consulem quidem videbo.' Οὕτω με Καίσαρα ἴδοις—Οὐδὲ ὕπατόν σε ὄψομαι.

[q] *Suspectabat maxime*] Nero had great suspicion of Corn. Sylla, the husband of Antonia, Britannicus's sister, from misjudging his indolent temper, and thinking him to be a crafty and dissembling person.

[r] *Pons Milvius*] It is now gone. Its ruins are still seen in the summer-time, near a place called *Torretta*, and more than 2000 feet eastward from the bridge now called *Ponte-Molle*.

[s] *Celebris*] For 'celeber,' as in A. ii, 88. *Inlecebris*, amours.

ventitabatque illuc Nero, quo solutius Urbem extra lasciviret. Igitur 'regredienti per viam Flaminiam[u] compositas insidias, fatoque evitatas, quoniam diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos[v] remeaverit, auctoremque ejus doli Sullam,' ementitur: quia forte, redeuntibus ministris Principis, quidam, per juvenilem licentiam, quæ tunc passim exercebatur, inanem metum fecerant. Neque servorum quisquam, neque clientium Sullæ agnitus: maximeque despecta, et nullius ausi capax natura ejus, a crimine abhorrebat: perinde tamen, quasi convictus esset, cedere patria, et Massiliensium mœnibus[w] coerceri jubetur.

48. Iisdem consulibus auditæ Puteolanorum[x] legationes, quas diversas ordo plebesque[y] ad senatum miserant: illi 'vim multitudinis,' hi 'magistratuum et primi cujusque[z] avaritiam' increpantes. Cumque seditio ad saxa et minas ignium progressa, necem et arma perliceret, C. Cassius adhibendo remedio delectus: quia severitatem ejus non tolerabant, precante ipso, ad Scribonios fratres ea cura transfertur, data cohorte prætoria: cujus terrore, et paucorum supplicio, rediit oppidanis concordia.

49. Non referrem vulgatissimum senatusconsultum, quo 'civitati Syracusanorum[a] egredi numerum, edendis gla-

[u] *Viam Flaminiam*] From this and many other passages it is clear, as is well observed by Piranesi, Antichità Romane, vol. i, p. 6, that the Flaminian road did not run, as it is commonly thought, by the gate *del popolo*, but by that which is called *Pinciana*.

[v] *Sallustianos in hortos*] Their situation is that of the gardens which are now called *Villa Belloni* and *Villa Verospi*. When they were digging in the latter in 1745, there were found remnants of great antiquity. For Sallust, from whom they were called, see A. iii, 30. They then belonged to the emperors, as we learn from Digest. Libr. xxx, Tit. de Legatis et Fideicommissis, leg. 39.

[w] *Massiliensium mœnibus*] Now *Marseilles*, in Gallia Narbonensis.

[x] *Puteolanorum*] Now *Pozzuolo*, in Campania.

[y] *Ordo plebesque*] Of the Puteolani. In an ancient stone mentioned by Capacc. Puteol. Hist. p. 6, is recorded SPLENDIDISSIMVS. ORDO. ET. POPVLVS. PVTEOLANORVM: and in another inscription, p. 7. PLACERE. HVIC. ORDINI. So in H. ii, 52. is mentioned also 'ordo Mutinensis.' This order of duumvirs and decuriones in the colonies and in the municipia were the same as the Roman senators; and none were enrolled in it but the people of the colony or the municipium, who had an income amounting to 833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* See Gori, Inscr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 192.

[z] *Primi cujusque*] So Cic. ii. in Verr. 67, mentions 'Centuripinum [*Centorvi in Sicilia*] magistratum et decemprimos.'

[a] *Civitati Syracusanorum*] This most famous city of Syracuse still retains its name, which has been illustrated in a very learned manner by Vincent Mirabella and Jac. Bonanni, Della

diatoribus finitum,[b] permittebatur;' nisi Pætus Thrasea[c] contra dixisset, præbuissetque materiem obtrectatoribus arguendæ sententiæ. 'Cur enim, si rempublicam egere libertate senatoria crederet, tam levia consectaretur? quin de bello aut pace, de vectigalibus et legibus, quibusque aliis res Romana continetur, suaderet dissuaderetve? Licere patribus, quotiens jus dicendæ sententiæ accepissent, quæ vellent expromere, relationemque in ea postulare. An solum emendatione dignum, ne Syracusis spectacula largius ederentur? Cetera per omnes imperii partes perinde egregia, quam si non Nero, sed Thrasea regimen eorum teneret? Quod si summa dissimulatione transmitterentur, quanto magis inanibus abstinendum!' Thrasea contra, rationem poscentibus amicis, 'non præsentium ignarum,' respondebat, 'ejusmodi consulta corrigere: sed patrum honori dare, ut manifestum fieret, magnarum rerum curam non dissimulaturos, qui animum etiam levissimis adverterent.'

50. Eodem anno, crebris populi flagitationibus, immodestiam publicanorum[d] arguentis, dubitavit Nero 'an cuncta vectigalia omitti juberet; idque pulcherrimum donum[e] generi mortalium daret:' sed impetum ejus,

Antiche Siracuse, who may be consulted on the theatre and amphitheatre of that city, vol. i, p. 77. vol. ii, p. 97. 101.

[b] *Edendis—finitum*] According to Dio, liv, p. 522, Augustus had decreed that no one should exhibit a show of gladiators without the order of the senate, or above twice in the year, or of more than 120 gladiators. Προσαπειπὼν —μήθ' ὁπλομαχίαν, μήτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ' αὖ πλεονάκις ἢ δὶς ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, ποιεῖν. Tiberius, who was but little fond of festivity, curtailed the expenses of games and shows, 'mercedibus scenicorum recisis, paribusque gladiatorum ad certum numerum redactis,' Suet. Tib. 34. This is perhaps illustrated by an old inscription in Ursatus, Monumenta Patavina, i, 5. p. 217. T. ANCHARIVS. PRISC. FIL. AEDILIS. QVAESTOR. ADSEDENTE. PATRE. GLADIATORVM. PARIA. TRIGINTA. ADIECTA. VENATIONE. —LEGITIMA. EDIDIT.

[c] *Pætus Thrasea*] An excellent and independent man, who is much spoken of afterwards.

[d] *Immodestiam publicanorum*] Of this Ulpian also complains, Digest. Lib. xxxix, Tit. 4. de Publicanis et Vectigalibus, Leg. 12. 'Quantæ audaciæ, quantæ temeritatis sint publicanorum factiones, nemo est qui nesciat.' Of these persons Montesquieu spoke with more ingenuity than truth, *Esprit des Loix*, xiii, 20. *Tout est perdu lorsque la profession lucrative des Traitans parvient encore par ses richesses à être une profession honorée.* Their oppressions indeed must be restrained: but let not distinctions be refused to them, when they act well, and obtain their wealth justly. Sabinus, the father of Vespasian, was a collector in Asia: for there 'publicum quadragesimæ egit; manebantque imagines a civitatibus ei positæ sub hoc titulo, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ,' i.e. for having well performed his office. Suet. Vespas. 1.

[e] *Pulcherrimum donum*] A grave

multum prius laudata 'magnitudine animi,' attinuere senatores, 'dissolutionem imperii' docendo, 'si fructus, quibus respublica sustineretur, deminuerentur: quippe, sublatis portoriis,[f] sequens,[g] ut tributorum abolitio[h] expostularetur; plerasque vectigalium societates,[i] a consulibus et tribunis plebis constitutas, acri etiam populi Romani tum libertate: reliqua mox ita provisa, ut ratio quæstuum et necessitas erogationum inter se congruerent. Temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines, ne per tot annos sine querela tolerata, novis acerbitatibus ad invidiam verterent.'

51. Ergo edixit Princeps, 'ut leges cujusque publici,[k] occultæ ad id tempus, proscriberentur: omissas petitiones, non ultra annum resumerent: Romæ prætor,[l] per provincias, qui pro prætore aut consule essent, jura adversus

and noble inquiry.

[f] *Sublatis portoriis*] Imposts.

[g] *Sequens*] i.e. 'consequens esse.'

[h] *Tributorum abolitio*] 'Tributa' are taxes; 'vectigalia' are customs and excise: hence 'vectigales agri.' It seems that it was not the 'vectigales agri,' but the other part of the 'vectigalia' that Nero wished to remove; and that Tacitus called it 'pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium,' because from it the resources and efficacy of commerce would be strengthened. The senate resisted for fear the abolition of taxes should be demanded; an abolition, which could not take place without the ruin of the empire: for with truth says Ulpian, Digest. Lib. xlviii, Tit. 18. de Quæstionibus, leg. 1. '[In tributis] esse reipublicæ nervos nemini dubium est.'

[i] *Vectigalium societates*] As was said in A. iv, 6. 'Frumenta, et pecuniæ vectigales, cetera publicorum fructuum, societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur.' Whence Cicero pro Planc. 23. 'Huic obesse putas patrem publicanum: qui ordo quanto adjumento sit in honore quis nescit? Flos enim equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reipublicæ, publicanorum ordine continetur.' The farms of the Roman revenue were let every five years. V. Callistratum, Digest. Libr. xlix, Tit. 14. de Jure Fisci, leg. 3.

[k] *Cujusque publici*] What we call revenue. So Sen. Ep. cxix. 'Jam ego paraveram fiscos: circumspiciebam in quod me mare negotiaturus immitterem, quod publicum agitarem, quas accerserem merces.' Nero decreed, that the terms of each 'vectigal,' which were hitherto kept secret, should be posted up in public. Montesquieu, who is severe with collectors, gives this a disagreeable and inaccurate turn, *Esprit des Loix*, xiii, 19. *Néron ordonna que les loix faites contre les publicains, qui avoient été jusques-là tenues secrettes, seroient publiées—qu'il y auroit un Préteur pour juger leurs prétentions sans formalité.*

[l] *Romæ prætor*] We have the law of the pretor in Ulpian, Digest. Lib. xxxix, Tit. 4. de Publicanis et Vectigalibus, Leg. 1. 'Prætor ait, Quod publicanus ejus publicani [corrige *publici*] nomine vi ademerit, quodve familia publicanorum, si id restitutum non erit, in duplum; aut si post annum agetur, in simplum judicium dabo. Item si damnum, injuria, furtumve factum esse dicetur, judicium dabo. Si id, ad quos ea res pertinebit, non exhibebitur, in dominos sine noxæ deditione judicium dabo.'

publicanos extra ordinem redderent: militibus immunitas servaretur, nisi in iis, quæ veno exercerent:' aliaque admodum æqua, quæ brevi servata, dein frustra habita sunt. Manet tamen abolitio quadragesimæ quinquagesimæque,[m] et quæ alia exactionibus inlicitis nomina publicani invenerant. Temperata apud transmarinas provincias frumenti subvectio:[n] et, 'ne censibus negotiatorum naves[o] adscriberentur, tributumque pro illis penderent,' constitutum.

52. Reos ex provincia Africa, qui proconsulare imperium illic habuerant, Sulpicium Camerinum[p] et Pomponium Silvanum absolvit Cæsar: Camerinum adversus privatos et paucos, sævitiæ magis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina objicientes. Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat, poscebatque 'tempus evocandorum testium:' reus 'illico defendi' postulabat. Valuitque pecuniosa orbitate et senecta, quam ultra vitam eorum produxit, quorum ambitu evaserat.

53. Quietæ ad id tempus res in Germania fuerant, ingenio ducum, qui, pervulgatis triumphi insignibus, majus ex eo decus sperabant, si pacem continuavissent. Paullinus Pompeius et L. Vetus[q] ea tempestate exer-

[m] *Quadragesimæ quinquagesimæque*] This is the 'quadragesima litium,' as is rightly observed by Cujac. Obss. vi, 28. and is approved by Petr. Burman, Diss. de Vectigal. c. 5. p. 87. The exaction of the 50th penny, and other unlawful imposts, either commenced in the reign of Claudius, or had remained from that of Caius, of which Suetonius says in Caio, 40. 'Vectigalia nova atque inaudita—exercuit; nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributi aliquid imponeret. Pro eduliis quæ tota Urbe venirent, certum statumque exigebatur: pro litibus atque judiciis ubicunque conceptis, quadragesima summæ, de qua litigaretur—Ex gerulorum diurnis quæstibus pars octava,' &c. There was also a 'quadragesima mercium,' of which Quintil. Decl. CCCLIX. 'Præter instrumenta itineris omnes res quadragesimam publicano debeant.' This was by no means abolished by Nero; Galba indeed relaxed it, as appears from his coins, QVADRAGENS. REMISSÆ, i.e. 'Quadragesimæ remissæ:' but he did not quite take it away. It often occurs afterwards in authors; and is mentioned by Symmach. Epist. v. 62, 63. See Burman, l. c. p. 86.

[n] *Frumenti subvectio*] The provinces beyond the sea imported corn into the city for the camp and the public granaries: this was exacted with moderation. For the iniquitous gains made in this business, see in Agr. 19.

[o] *Negotiatorum naves*] That the ships of merchants, who cheapened provisions in the city, should not be rated in the estimate of their effects, or taxed. Of these merchants and masters of vessels, see on A. xii, 55.

[p] *Sulpicium Camerinum*] Whom, though one of the principal men of the city, ἄνδρα τῶν πρώτων, Dio mentions to have been killed with his son by Nero: lxiii, p. 723. See also Plin. Epist. i, 5.

[q] *Paullinus—Vetus*] Paullinus was

citui præerant. Ne tamen segnem militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos[r] a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno, absolvit: Vetus Mosellam atque Ararim,[s] facta inter utrumque fossa, connectere parabat, ut copiæ per mare,[t] dein Rhodano et Arare subvectæ, per eam fossam, mox fluvio Mosella, in Rhenum, exin Oceanum decurrerent; sublatisque itinerum difficultatibus, navigabilia inter se Occidentis Septemtrionisque littora fierent. Invidit operi Ælius Gracilis, Belgicæ legatus, deterrendo Veterem, 'ne legiones alienæ provinciæ[u] inferret, studiaque Galliarum adfectaret: formidolosum id Imperatori' dictitans; quo plerumque prohibentur conatus honesti.

54. Ceterum continuo exercituum otio, fama incessit, ereptum jus legatis ducendi in hostem: eoque Frisii[v] juventutem saltibus aut paludibus, imbellem ætatem per lacus admovere ripæ,[x] agrosque vacuos, et militum usui sepositos, insedere, auctore Verrito et Malorige, qui nationem eam regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur.[y] Jamque fixerant domos, semina arvis intulerant, utque patrium solum exercebant; cum Vibius Avitus,[z] accepta a Paullino provincia,[a] minitando 'vim Romanam, nisi abscederent Frisii veteres in locos, aut novam sedem

put over *Lower*, Vetus over *Upper Germany*.

[r] *Ante* III. *et* LX. *annos*] Drusus died A.U.C. 745. therefore Paullinus had finished the mound A.U.C. 808. Drusus had before made a canal, of which see in A. ii, 8. When the Rhine, by the accumulation of sand, still threatened an irruption into Gaul, Drusus began a mound to check the water and to direct it easier into the canal of Drusus. That mound was at the town of Dorestadium, now *Wich Durstede*. Civilis destroyed it, and let in the Rhine over the Galliæ, as we learn H. v, 19. See Alting. Notit. Germ. Inf. Part i, p. 3. and Part ii, p. 44.

[s] *Mosellam—Ararim*] Mosella, *the Moselle;* Arar, *the Saone;* Rhodanus, *the Rhone*. The communication of the Mediterranean with the Ocean, so often commenced and abandoned, was made with great cost but with greater renown by Louis XIV. We call it *the Royal Canal*, or *the Canal of Languedoc*.

[t] *Per mare*] *The Mediterranean*.

[u] *Alienæ provinciæ*] The Belgian, for the sake of joining *the Moselle* and *the Saone* by a canal carried between those two rivers.

[v] *Frisii*] They inhabited the coast between *the Rhine* and *the Ems*.

[x] *Ripæ*] Of *the Rhine*, between *Wesel* and *Dusseldorf*.

[y] *In quantum—regnantur*] Namely amid the greatest liberty. See G. 11.

[z] *Vibius Avitus*] He seems the same as the person mentioned by Plin. xxxiv, 7. And after so many wars, the spoliations of J. Cæsar, and the enormous taxes, we may wonder at the yet remaining resources of the Gauls, with which our own can scarcely cope.

[a] *A Paullino provincia*] *Lower Germany*.

Cæsare impetrarent,' perpulit Verritum et Malorigem preces suscipere: profectique Romam, dum aliis curis intentum Neronem opperiuntur, inter ea, quæ barbaris ostentantur, intravere Pompeii theatrum,[b] quo magnitudinem populi viserent. Illic per otium (neque enim ludicris[c] ignari oblectabantur) dum 'consessum caveæ, discrimina ordinum, quis eques, ubi senatus,' percunctantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum:[d] et 'quinam forent,' rogitantes, postquam audiverant, 'earum gentium legatis id honoris datum, quæ virtute et amicitia Romana præcellerent,' 'nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse,' exclamant, degrediunturque, et inter patres considunt: quod comiter a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui, et bona æmulatione. Nero civitate Romana ambos donavit: 'Frisios decedere agris' jussit: atque illis adspernantibus, auxiliaris eques, repente immissus, necessitatem attulit, captis cæsisve, qui pervicacius restiterant.

55. Eosdem agros[e] Ansibarii[f] occupavere, validior gens,[g] non modo sua copia, sed adjacentium populorum

[b] *Pompeii theatrum*] Of which see more in A. xiv, 20.

[c] *Ludicris*] Games and theatrical performances.

[d] *Cultu—senatorum*] That this happened under the reign of Claudius we learn from Suet. Claud. 25. 'Germanorum legatis in orchestra sedere permisit, simplicitate eorum et fiducia motus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animadvertissent Parthos et Armenios sedentes in senatu, ad eadem loca sponte transierant, nihilo deteriorem virtutem aut conditionem suam prædicantes.' Unless perhaps it happened under both emperors. Yet I would more willingly believe Tacitus. That such privileges were formerly bestowed on valor and fidelity to the Roman empire, is shown by an eminent example in Just. xliii, 5. 'Urbem Romanam a Gallis captam, incensamque—publico funere Massilienses prosecuti sunt: aurumque et argentum publicum privatumque contulerunt ad explendum pondus Gallis, a quibus redemtam pacem cognoverant: ob quod meritum et immunitas illis decreta, et locus spectaculorum in senatu datus, et fœdus æquo jure percussum.' In A.U.C. 710. the same honor was given to Hyrcanus, his children, and his ambassadors, by the dictator J. Cæsar, as we learn from Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xiv, 10. This courtesy, which was more becoming to the republic than the empire, was abandoned by Augustus, who 'Romæ legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra considere,' Suet. Aug. xliv, 44.

[e] *Eosdem agros*] On the bank of the Rhine between *Wesel* and *Dusseldorf*.

[f] *Ansibarii*] Who, before they were expelled by the Chauci, are thought by Spener, Notit. Germ. Antiq. iv, 3, p. 281, to have been situated between *the Amisia* and *the Visurgis*, *the Chauci* and *the Angrivarii*.

[g] *Validior gens*] Not more powerful than all the Frisii, but those only who had occupied the country on the bank of the Rhine.

miseratione: quia pulsi a Chaucis, et sedis inopes, tutum exilium orabant. Aderatque iis clarus per illas gentes, et nobis quoque fidus, nomine Boiocalus, 'vinctum se rebellione Cherusca,[h] jussu Arminii,' referens; 'mox Tiberio et Germanico[i] ducibus, stipendia meruisse; et quinquaginta annorum[k] obsequio id quoque adjungere, quod gentem suam ditioni nostræ subjiceret. Quotam partem[l] campi jacere, in quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? Servarent sane receptos gregibus, inter hominum famam; modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent, quam amicos populos. Chamavorum quondam[m] ea arva, mox Tubantum, et post Usipiorum fuisse. Sicuti cœlum Diis, ita terras generi mortalium datas: quæque vacuæ,[n] eas publicas esse.' Solem deinde respiciens, et cetera sidera vocans, quasi coram interrogabat, 'vellentne contueri inane solum? potius mare superfunderent adversus terrarum ereptores.'

56. Et, commotus his Avitus, 'patienda meliorum imperia. Id Diis, quos implorarent, placitum,[o] ut arbitrium penes Romanos maneret, quid darent, quid adimerent; neque alios judices, quam seipsos paterentur.' Hæc in publicum Ansibariis respondit; ipsi Boiocalo, 'ob memoriam amicitiæ daturum agros:' quod ille, ut proditionis pretium, aspernatus, addidit, 'Deesse nobis terra,

[h] *Rebellione Cherusca*] By which Varus perished, as was said in A. i. and ii.

[i] *Tiberio et Germanico*] Who were sent to revenge the slaughter of Varus.

[k] *Quinquaginta annorum*] In round numbers: for the slaughter of Varus took place A.U.C. 672: or in 763, as is learnedly proved by Gibert, *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, vol. xxvii, p. 71. sq.

[l] *Quotam partem*] Why reserve so much land for sending into it occasionally the sheep and cattle of the army? They might indeed keep certain lands 'receptos,' reserved, 'gregibus intra hominum famam,' in those countries which the soldiery inhabited: but they ought not to prefer solitude and a barren waste to a friendly population.

[m] *Chamavorum quondam*] That it belonged also to the Menapii, appears from Cæsar, B. G. iv, 4. whence Spener, Notit. Germ. Antiq. p. 245, thinks that *Menapiorum* should be read for *Chamavorum*. So also Cluver conjectured *Sugambrorum* in the place of *Tubantum*. But amidst so many and so great changes of tribes and people little certain can be determined. For the Usipetes, or *the Usipii*, see A. i, 51. and Germ. 32, 33.

[n] *Quæque vacuæ*] But those lands were not 'vacuæ,' which served for feeding the cattle and flocks of the soldiers, as is justly observed by Grotius de Jur. Bell. et Pac. ii, 2, n. 17. The Romans had a right to refuse them.

[o] *Placitum*] So Virg. Æn. vi, 851. 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento; Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem, Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.'

in qua vivamus; in qua moriamur, non potest:' atque ita, infensis utrimque animis, discessum. Illi Bructeros, Tencteros,[p] ulteriores etiam nationes, socias bello vocabant. Avitus, scripto ad Curtilium Manciam,[q] superioris exercitus legatum, 'ut Rhenum transgressus, arma a tergo ostenderet;' ipse legiones in agrum Tencterum[r] induxit, excidium minitans, nisi causam suam dissociarent. Igitur absistentibus his, pari metu exterriti Bructeri; et ceteris quoque aliena pericula deserentibus, sola Ansibariorum gens retro ad Usipios et Tubantes[s] concessit: quorum terris exacti, cum Cattos, dein Cheruscos petissent, errore longo, hospites, egeni, hostes, in alieno, quod juventutis erat, cæduntur: imbellis ætas in prædam divisa est.

57. Eadem æstate, inter Hermunduros Cattosque certatum magno prælio, dum flumen,[t] gignendo sale fœcundum, et conterminum, vi trahunt; super libidinem cuncta armis agendi, religione insita, 'eos maxime locos propinquare cœlo, precesque mortalium a Deis nusquam propius audiri. Inde indulgentia numinum, illo in amne, illisque sylvis,[u] salem provenire, non, ut alias apud gentes, eluvie maris arescente, sed unda super ardentem arborum struem fusa, ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis concretum.' Sed bellum, Hermunduris prosperum, Cattis exitiosius fuit, quia 'victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio'[v] sacravere, quo voto equi,

[p] *Bructeros, Tencteros*] Adjoining to the Ansibarii, of whom more in Germ. 32, 33.

[q] *Curtilium Manciam*] Who had succeeded L. Vetus in Upper Germany.

[r] *Tencterum*] About Luppia, *the Lippe*, and Rura, *the Ruhr* rivers.

[s] *Usipios et Tubantes*] See A. i, 51.

[t] *Dum flumen*] The river Sala, now also so called: it rises among the Hermunduri, not far from *the city of Egra;* and flows into *the Elbe*. That *Kissinga* is near it, near which salt is still refined, we learn from Eccard de Orig. Germ. p. 341.

[u] *In—sylvis*] This is illustrated by Plin. xxxi, 7. 'Galliæ Germaniæque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt—Quercus optima, ut quæ per se cinere sincero vim salis reddat: alibi corylus laudatur: ita infuso liquore salso carbo etiam in salem vertitur. Quicumque ligno confit sal, niger est.' Varro also, de R. R. i, 7. 'In Gallia transalpina, intus ad Rhenum cum exercitum ducerem, aliquot regiones accessi, ubi nec vitis, nec olea, nec poma nascerentur; ubi agros stercorarent candida fossicia creta; ubi salem, nec fossicium, nec maritimum haberent, sed ex quibusdam lignis combustis, carboribus salsis pro eo uterentur.'

[v] *Marti ac Mercurio*] Many of the German inscriptions bear witness to the worship of these gods. But more of them in G. 9.

viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur: et minæ quidem hostiles in ipsos vertebant. Sed civitas Juhonum,[x] socia nobis, malo improviso adflicta est: nam ignes, terra editi,[y] villas, arva, vicos, passim corripiebant, ferebanturque in ipsa conditæ nuper coloniæ mœnia: neque extingui poterant; non si imbres caderent, non fluvialibus aquis, aut quo alio humore: donec inopia remedii, et ira cladis, agrestes quidam eminus saxa jacere, dein, residentibus flammis, propius suggressi, ictu fustium, aliisque verberibus, ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori derepta injiciunt, quanto magis profana, et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes.

58. Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem[z] in comitio, quæ

[x] *Civitas Juhonum*] That the Juhones lived between Radantia, *Rednitz*, and Mœnus, *the Mein*; and that the colony of Norimberga, *Nuremberg*, or Forchemium, *Forcheim*, had been recently established, is thought by Eccard de Germ. Orig. p. 343. as also that the name of Juhones is extant in the fortification of *Giech* and in the neighboring mountain of *Gickel*. On the contrary, Alting, Notit. Germ. Antiq. p. 83, and Spener, Notit. Germ. Antiq. p. 215, say that there was no such city, colony, or people, as the Juhones; but that for *Juhonum* we should read *Ubiorum*, a colony of whom we saw in A. xii, 27, had been recently established. Certainly the name of Juhones is very dubious; for in Mss. Flor. Agr. and Guelf. Harl. Jes. it is *Vibonum*. In Ms. Reg. and the ed. princeps *Jubionum*. In Ms. Bodl. *Jubonum*. Puteolanus first edited *Juhonum*. Ryck proposed, badly, *Æduorum*: and they are not more happy in their conjecture, who have put the Juhones among the Frisii.

[y] *Ignes—editi*] That such fires existed formerly in the isle of Lemnos, and in his own age in the territory of Evreux, is stated by Huet. They more frequently and more recently blazed forth in the Tarvisine territory, commonly called by the Italians *Marca Trivigiana*, in the years 1706, 1717, 1724, 1754.

[z] *Ruminalem arborem*] The fig-tree, called Ruminalis, because the ancients called the teat 'rumam' or 'rumin.' The Comitium was a part of the Roman forum. The whole circumstance is related at large by Plin. xv, 18. 'Colitur ficus arbor in foro ipso ac Comitio Romæ nata, sacra fulguribus ibi conditis; magisque ob memoriam ejus, quæ nutrix fuit Romuli ac Remi conditoris appellata; quoniam sub ea inventa est lupa infantibus præbens rumen, (ita vocabant mammam:) miraculo ex ære juxta dicato, tamquam in comitium sponte transisset, Atto Navio augure. Illic arescit: rursusque cura sacerdotum seritur. Fuit et ante Saturni ædem, Urbis anno 260. sublata, sacro a Vestalibus facto, cum Silvani simulacrum subverteret.' It appears from the words of Pliny, that, while the old tree was drying up, others were planted; and that the name of Ruminalis or Romularis was always preserved to the tree. Its trunk is celebrated by Ovid, Fast. ii, 408. 'Arbor erat; remanent vestigia; quæque vocatur Rumana nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat.' It was transferred from Germalus to the Comitium by the augur Navius, and not spontaneously. Of Germalus and the Ruminalis Ficus, see Varro, de L. L. iv, p. 16. Liv. i, 4. x, 23.

octingentos et quadraginta ante annos[a] Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente trunco deminutam, prodigii loco habitum est, donec in novos fœtus reviresceret.

[a] *Octingentos—annos*] Either, according to Tacitus, Romulus and Remus were 28 years old when they built the city; or the copyists made a mistake in the numbers, and wrote *quadraginta* for *triginta*. Other writers state that Romulus and Remus built the city in the 18th year of their age.

ANNALES.

LIBER DECIMUS QUARTUS.

Chap. 1. Nero's passion for Poppæa, and his hatred of Agrippina his mother, more violent than ever; Agrippina tries to regain his affections, but in vain; Nero approves of a scheme to drown her in the sea; a ship constructed for the purpose; Agrippina escapes from the wreck; Nero enraged sends Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Misenum, to murder her—11. Nero's letter to the senate justifying the murder; supplications decreed to the gods; Pætus Thrasea goes out of the senate full of indignation—13. Nero rushes into every excess; he drives chariots, plays on the flute, and compels men of family to appear on the stage; he exhibits in public, and turns poet—17. A dreadful fray between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeium—18. Complaints preferred to the senate by the Cyrenians; death of Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two famous orators; their characters—20. Quinquennial games established by Nero; observations on that institution—22. A comet portends a change of government; Rubellius Plautus driven into banishment—23. The wise and gallant conduct of Corbulo in Armenia; he takes Artaxata, and afterwards Tigranocerta, and places Tigranes on the throne of Armenia—27. Laodicea, a city in Asia, destroyed by an earthquake; imprudent and impolitic management of the Roman government in regard to the colonies—28. The election of pretors settled by the prince—29. A general insurrection in Britain; Suetonius Paulinus sent to command the army; he takes the isle of Mona (now Anglesey), and destroys the religious groves; during his absence in those parts a general massacre of the Romans; the province almost lost, but recovered by Suetonius, who defeats Boadicea with prodigious slaughter—40. The governor, or prefect of Rome, murdered by one of his slaves; debates in the senate about the punishment of all slaves in the house at the time of a murder committed on the master—46. Tarquitius Priscus condemned; death of Memmius Regulus; his character; Nero dedicates a school for athletic exercises; the law of majesty revived; Antistius the pretor prosecuted for a satirical poem on the emperor; the senate willing to inflict a capital punishment; Pætus Thrasea opposes the motion; the majority vote on his side—51. Burrus dies universally lamented—52. Attempts against Seneca; his enemies undermine him with the prince; his interview with Nero; his speech, and the prince's answer—57. Tigellinus in high favor; by his advice Sylla murdered at Marseilles, and Plautus in Asia—60. Nero repudiates his wife Octavia, and marries Pop-

pæa; an insurrection of the populace; Anicetus suborned by Nero to confess himself guilty of adultery with Octavia; she is banished by Nero to the isle of Pandataria, and soon after murdered.

These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
812	59	Caius Vipstanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.
813	60	Nero, fourth time, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
814	61	Cæsonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.
815	62	P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.

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1. [A.U.C. 812. J.C. 59.] Caio Vipstano, Fonteio consulibus,[a] diu meditatum scelus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalita audacia, et flagrantior in dies amore Poppææ,[b] quæ sibi matrimonium et discidium Octaviæ,[c] incolumi Agrippina,[d] haud sperans, crebris criminationibus, aliquando per facetias incusaret Principem, et 'pupillum' vocaret, 'qui jussis alienis[e] obnoxius, non modo imperii, sed libertatis etiam indigeret. Cur enim differri nuptias suas? formam scilicet displicere et triumphales avos?[f] an fœcunditatem et verum animum?[g] timeri, ne uxor saltem injurias patrum, iram populi adversus superbiam avaritiamque matris aperiat. Quod si nurum Agrippina, non nisi filio infestam, ferre posset, reddatur ipsa Othonis conjugio:[h] ituram quoquo terrarum, ubi audiret potius contumelias Imperatoris, quam viseret, periculis ejus immixta.' Hæc atque talia, lacrymis et arte adulteræ penetrantia, nemo prohibebat;

[a] *Fonteio coss.*] Caius Vipstanus Apronianus and L. Fonteius Capito were the consuls A.U.C. 812. J.C. 59.

[b] *Poppææ*] See A. xiii, 45.

[c] *Octaviæ*] Wife of Nero. St. C. 36.

[d] *Agrippina*] Nero's mother. St. C. 93.

[e] *Jussis alienis*] Of his mother Agrippina.

[f] *Triumphales avos*] We saw, in A. xiii, 45. Poppæus Sabinus, maternal grandfather of Poppæa, a man of consular dignity and adorned with a triumph. He was not of high origin, but was favored by the emperors, 'nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis, neque supra erat,' A. vi, 39. See also Dio, liii, p. 637.

[g] *Verum animum*] Are my fertility, and the sincerity and genuineness of my feelings displeasing? Am I feared by Agrippina, lest a wife should expose the injurious treatment of the senate, and the indignation of the people at her pride and avarice? This is a plain sense, though much disputed by the commentators.

[h] *Othonis conjugio*] See A. xiii, 45, 46.

cupientibus cunctis infringi matris potentiam, et credente nullo, usque ad cædem ejus duratura filii odia.

2. Tradit Cluvius,[i] 'ardore retinendæ Agrippinam potentiæ eo usque provectam, ut medio diei,[k] cum id temporis Nero per vinum et epulas incalesceret, offerret se sæpius temulento comtam, et incesto paratam: jamque lasciva oscula et prænuntias flagitii blanditias adnotantibus proximis; Senecam contra muliebres inlecebras subsidium a fœmina petivisse: immissamque Acten[l] libertam, quæ, simul suo periculo, et infamia Neronis anxia, deferret, pervulgatum esse incestum, gloriante matre; nec toleraturos milites profani Principis imperium.' Fabius Rusticus,[m] 'non Agrippinæ, sed Neroni cupitum id' memorat, 'ejusdemque libertæ astu disjectum.' Sed quæ Cluvius, eadem ceteri quoque auctores prodidere; et fama huc inclinat; seu concepit animo tantum immanitatis Agrippina, seu credibilior novæ libidinis meditatio in ea visa est, quæ puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido,[n] spe dominationis, admiserat, pari cupidine usque ad libita Pallantis[o] provoluta, et exercita ad omne flagitium patrui nuptiis.[p]

3. Igitur Nero vitare secretos ejus congressus: abscedentem in hortos, aut Tusculanum,[q] vel Antiatem in agrum,[r] laudare, 'quod otium lacesseret.' Postremo, ubicumque haberetur, prægravem ratus, interficere constituit: hactenus consultans, 'veneno, an ferro, vel qua alia vi.' Placuitque primo venenum: sed inter epulas Principis si daretur, referri ad casum non poterat, tali jam Britannici exitio; et ministros tentare arduum videbatur mulieris usu scelerum adversus insidias intentæ: atque

[i] *Cluvius*] The historian mentioned A. xiii, 20.

[k] *Medio diei*] The Romans dined late; but the young and drunken emperor was heated with wine and viands at noon. Suet. Ner. 27. 'Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat.'

[l] *Immissamque Acten*] A famous courtesan, of whom in A. xiii, 12.

[m] *Fab. Rusticus*] An historian, a friend of Seneca: A. xiii, 20. With Fabius agrees Suet. Ner. 28.

[n] *Cum Lepido*] Æmilius Lepidus, husband of Drusilla. His vile pollutions are mentioned by Dio, lix, p. 657. See St. C. 54.

[o] *Libita Pallantis*] Pallas was secretary of accounts to the emperor Claudius, and the administrator of the empire: who is often mentioned in the preceding books.

[p] *Patrui nuptiis*] Of Claudius, Agrippina's uncle. This incestuous marriage we saw in A. xii, 3, &c.

[q] *Tusculanum*] Tusculum, now *Frascati*.

[r] *Antiatem in agrum*] Antium, now *Torre d'Anzo*.

ipsa præsumendo remedia munierat corpus. Ferrum et cædes quonam modo occultaretur, nemo reperiebat; et, ne quis, illi tanto facinori delectus, jussa sperneret, metuebat. Obtulit ingenium Anicetus libertus, classi apud Misenum[s] præfectus, et pueritiæ Neronis educator, ac mutuis odiis Agrippinæ invisus. Ergo 'navem posse componi,' docet,[t] 'cujus pars, ipso in mari per artem soluta, effunderet ignaram: nihil tam capax fortuitorum, quam mare; et si naufragio intercepta sit, quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri adsignet, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? Additurum Principem defunctæ templum, et aras, et cetera ostentandæ pietati.'

4. Placuit solertia, tempore etiam juta, quando Quinquatruum[u] festos dies apud Baias[v] frequentabat. Illuc

[s] *Misenum*] Now *Capo di Miseno.* Of the fleet, see A. iv, 5.

[t] *Componi docet*] The invention of this is given to Nero by Suetonius, who is more desirous of saying what is horrible than what is true: Ner. 34. 'Cum veneno [matrem] ter tentasset [Nero], sentiretque antidotis præmunitam; lacunaria, quæ noctu super dormientem, laxata machina, deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per conscios parum celato, solutilem navem, cujus vel naufragio, vel cameræ ruina periret, commentus est: atque in reconciliatione simulata jucundissimis literis Baias evocavit ad solennia Quinquatruum: datoque negotio trierarchis, qui liburnicam, qua advecta erat, velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium; repetentique Baulos, in locum corrupti navigii, machinosum illud obtulit: hilare prosecutus, atque in digressu papillas quoque exosculatus, reliquum temporis cum magna trepidatione vigilavit, cœptorum opperiens exitum. Sed ut diversa omnia, nandoque evasisse eam, comperit, inops consilii, Lucium Agerinum, libertum ejus, salvam et incolumem cum gaudio nuntiantem, abjecto clam juxta pugione, ut percussorem sibi subornatum arripi constringique jussit, matremque occidi; quasi deprehensum crimen voluntaria morte vitasset. Adduntur his atrociora, nec incertis auctoribus; ad visendum interfectæ cadaver accurrisse, contrectasse membra, alia vituperasse, alia laudasse, sitique interim oborta, bibisse. Neque tamen sceleris conscientiam, quamquam et militum et senatus populique gratulationibus confirmaretur, aut statim, aut unquam postea ferre potuit: sæpe confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus Furiarum, ac tædis ardentibus. Quin et, facto per magos sacro, evocare Manes, et exorare tentavit. Peregrinatione quidem Græciæ, Eleusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et scelerati voce præconis submoverentur, interesse non ausus est.' This extract illustrates our author, and shows the diligence and the acuteness which he manifests in his Annals.

[u] *Quinquatruum*] The Quinquatrus were celebrated in honor of Minerva on the 19th of March. In an old calendar: XIV. KAL. APRILIS. QVINQVATRIA. A festival of five days. Ov. Fast. iii, 713. 'Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho:' and vs. 810. 'Una dies media est, et fiunt sacra Minervæ, Nominaque a junctis quinque diebus habent. Sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro: Causa, quod est illa nata Minerva die. Altera, tresque super strata celebrantur arena: Ensibus exsertis bellica læta Dea est.'

[v] *Baias*] Baiæ still retains its name *Baja*: but it is for the most part covered

matrem illicit, 'ferendas parentum iracundias, et placandum animum' dictitans, quo rumorem reconciliationis efficeret, acciperetque Agrippina, facili fœminarum credulitate ad gaudia. Venientem dehinc, obvius in littora (nam Antio adventabat) excipit manu et complexu, ducitque Baulos:[x] id villæ nomen est, quæ promontorium Misenum inter et Baianum lacum[y] flexo mari alluitur. Stabat inter alias navis ornatior, tamquam id quoque honori matris daretur: quippe sueverat triremi et classiariorum remigio vehi: ac tum invitata ad epulas erat, ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur. Satis constitit, extitisse proditorem, et Agrippinam, auditis insidiis, an crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellæ Baias pervectam.[z] Ibi blandimentum sublevavit metum, comiter excepta, superque ipsum[a] collocata: nam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate juvenili Nero, et rursus adductus[b] quasi seria consociaret, tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem arctius oculis et pectori hærens;[c] sive explenda simulatione, seu perituræ matris supremus aspectus, quamvis ferum, animum retinebat.

5. Noctem sideribus inlustrem,[d] et placido mari quietam, quasi convincendum ad scelus, Dii præbuere. Nec multum erat progressa navis, duobus e numero familiarium Agrippinam comitantibus: ex queis Crepereius Gallus haud procul gubernaculis adstabat; Acerronia,[e] super

by the sea. See Capacc. Hist. Neapolitana, ii, 23. p. 698.

[x] *Ducitque Baulos*] The villa formerly of Hortensius, and then of Antonia: famous for the fish pond of Hortensius, whence the name still remains *Peschiera d' Ortensio.* See Plin. ix, 55, and Varr. R.R. iii, 17. More on the subject and of a curious description, in Capacc. Hist. Neapol. ii, 22. p. 687. Seneca, Ep. li, shows us that it was 'diversorium [Romanorum] vitiorum.'

[y] *Baianum lacum*] It lay between Bauli and Baiæ. No traces of it now remain. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. iv, 2. p. 1124.

[z] *Baias pervectam*] Many Mss. have *Baulos,* which is a wrong reading.

[a] *Superque ipsum*] Which was done to show the respect of the son to his mother.

[b] *Adductus*] Serious. So 'adductius' for 'severius,' H. iii, 7.

[c] *Pectori hærens*] The last words of Nero to his mother are related by Dio, lxi, p. 695. πρὸς τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγὼν, καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, Μῆτέρ τε, εἰπὼν, ἔῤῥωσό μοι καὶ ὑγίαινε· ἐν γάρ σοι καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ, καὶ διά σε βασιλεύω. 'He drew Agrippina to his breast, and having kissed her eyes and hands, said to her, Farewell, my mother, and prosper; in thee I live, by thee I reign.'

[d] *Sideribus inlustrem*] Right: for in this year the 19th of March was the 19th of the moon.

[e] *Acerronia*] By Dio, lxi, p. 695, she is called 'Ακερωνία Πώλλα.

pedes cubitantis[f] reclinis, 'pœnitentiam filii, et reciperatam matris gratiam,' per gaudium memorabat: cum dato signo, ruere tectum loci[g] multo plumbo grave; pressusque Crepereius, et statim exanimatus. Agrippina et Acerronia eminentibus lecti parietibus,[h] ac forte validioribus, quam ut oneri cederent, protectæ sunt: nec dissolutio navigii sequebatur, turbatis omnibus, et quod plerique ignari, etiam conscios impediebant. Visum dehinc remigibus, 'unum in latus inclinare, atque ita navem submergere.' Sed neque ipsis promtus in rem subitam consensus; et alii, contra nitentes, dedere facultatem lenioris in mare jactus. Verum Acerronia imprudens,[i] dum 'se Agrippinam esse, utque subveniretur matri Principis,' clamitat, contis et remis, et quæ fors obtulerat, navalibus telis conficitur. Agrippina silens, eoque minus agnita, unum tamen vulnus humero excepit. Nando, deinde occursu lenunculorum,[k] Lucrinum in lacum[l] vecta, villæ suæ[m] infertur.

6. Illic reputans, ideo se fallacibus literis accitam, et honore præcipuo habitam; quodque littus juxta, non ventis acta, non saxis impulsa navis, summa sui parte, veluti terrestre machinamentum, concidisset; observans etiam Acerroniæ necem; simul suum vulnus aspiciens: solum insidiarum remedium esse, si non intelligerentur: misit libertum Agerinum, qui nuntiaret filio, 'benignitate Deum, et fortuna ejus, evasisse gravem casum: orare, ut quamvis periculo matris exterritus, visendi curam differret; sibi ad præsens quiete opus.' Atque interim, securitate simulata, medicamina vulneri, et fomenta corpori adhibet: 'testamentum Acerroniæ requiri, bonaque obsignari' jubet: id tantum non per simulationem.

[f] *Cubitantis*] D'Orville, An. in Charit. p. 634, reads *cubantis*.

[g] *Tectum loci*] i. e. 'cameræ,' as Suet. says, l. c.

[h] *Parietibus*] The three wooden sides of the couch [Murphy reads *tecti*, 'the props of the bedroom,'] protected Agrippina, who was lying on it; and Acerronia, who was reclining at her feet. This will be clear from the figure of the ancient couches, which may be seen in the Admiranda Rom. Antiq. by Pet. St. Bartol. fol. 72.

[i] *Imprudens*] She through her perfidy lost her life, which she wished to preserve by treachery.

[k] *Lenunculorum*] Small barks.

[l] *Lucrinum in lacum*] To this day it is called *Lago Lucrino:* but nearly the whole was buried in 1538 by a mountain of lava. See Scipio Mazzella, Antichità di Pozzuolo, c. 14, p. 124.

[m] *Villæ suæ*] Bauli. In the neighborhood is a place still called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

7. At Neroni, nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti, adfertur, 'evasisse ictu levi sauciam; et hactenus adito discrimine, ne auctor dubitaretur.'[n] Tum pavore exanimis, et 'jam jamque adfore,' obtestans, 'vindictæ properam, sive servitia armaret, vel militem accenderet, sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet, naufragium, et vulnus, et interfectos amicos objiciendo: quod contra subsidium sibi? nisi quid Burrus et Seneca expromerent:' quos statim acciverat, incertum an et ante ignaros.[o] Igitur longum utriusque silentium, ne inriti dissuaderent; an eo descensum credebant, ut nisi præveniretur Agrippina, pereundum Neroni esset. Post Seneca, hactenus promtior, respicere Burrum, ac sciscitari, 'an militi imperanda cædes esset?' Ille 'prætorianos toti Cæsarum domui obstrictos, memoresque Germanici, nihil adversus progeniem ejus atrox ausuros,' respondit: 'perpetraret Anicetus promissa:' qui, nihil cunctatus, poscit summam sceleris. Ad eam vocem Nero, 'illo sibi die dari imperium, auctoremque tanti muneris libertum' profitetur: 'iret propere, duceretque promtissimos ad jussa.' Ipse, audito, 'venisse missu Agrippinæ nuntium Agerinum,' scenam ultro criminis parat: gladiumque, dum mandata perfert, abjicit inter pedes ejus; tum quasi deprehenso, 'vincla injici' jubet, ut, exitium Principis molitam matrem, et pudore deprehensi sceleris sponte mortem sumsisse, confingeret.

8. Interim vulgato Agrippinæ periculo, quasi casu evenisset, ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad littus. Hi molium objectus,[p] hi proximas scaphas scandere: alii,

[n] *Auctor dubitaretur*] And that, on receiving such an injury, she could have no doubt or ignorance of the author of the contrivance.

[o] *Incertum—ignaros*] Said with some hesitation, and for Seneca's reputation not without some use: for the chief part of this crime is ascribed to Poppæa and Seneca by Dio, lxi, p. 695, who says that this is asserted of Seneca by credible persons: καὶ αὐτὸν (Νέρωνα) καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, ὡς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀξιοπίστοις ἀνδράσιν εἴρηται, παρώξυνεν. Unworthy certainly of the philosopher are the schemes mentioned ch. 2. and ch. 11.

[p] *Molium objectus*] Nothing in Italy and perhaps in the whole world is pleasanter than the shore of Baiæ. Hor. Ep. i, 83. 'Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis.' The emperors and the most opulent Romans had villas there, and built them not only on the shore, but on the sea, by means of piers. Hence Horace gives his elegant and sensible advice, Od. ii, 18, 17. 'Tu secanda marmora Locas sub ipsum funus; et sepulcri Immemor, struis domos: Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urgues Submovere littora, Parum locuples continente ripa.'

quantum corpus sinebat, vadere in mare; quidam manus protendere: questibus, votis, clamore diversa rogitantium, aut incerta respondentium, omnis ora compleri: adfluere ingens multitudo cum luminibus, atque ubi incolumem esse pernotuit, ut ad gratandum, sese expedire, donec aspectu armati et minitantis agminis disjecti sunt. Anicetus villam statione circumdat, refractaque janua, obvios servorum arripit, donec ad fores cubiculi veniret: cui pauci adstabant, ceteris terrore inrumpentium exterritis. Cubiculo modicum lumen inerat, et ancillarum una: magis ac magis anxia Agrippina, quod nemo a filio, ac ne Agerinus quidem: aliam fere littore faciem nunc,[q] solitudinem ac repentinos strepitus, et extremi mali indicia. Abeunte dehinc ancilla, 'Tu quoque me deseris,' prolocuta, respicit Anicetum, trierarcho Herculeo,[r] et Oloarito centurione classiario, comitatum: ac, 'si ad visendum venisset, refotam' nuntiaret: 'sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio credere; non imperatum parricidium.' Circumsistunt lectum percussores, et prior trierarchus fusti caput ejus adflixit: nam in mortem centurioni ferrum destringenti, protendens uterum, 'Ven-

[q] *Faciem nunc*] I should prefer *aliam fores ante rerum faciem, nunc solitudinem.* To give a greater light to the narrative, let us bring together the last actions of Agrippina. Nero was attending the festival of the Quinquatrus at Baiæ: thither he urges his mother to come: he receives her on her arrival, takes her to Bauli, and presents her with a very beautiful vessel. On hearing of a plot, she goes to Baiæ in a land-carriage; and being received with great honors and attentions, she dismisses her fears, and before midnight goes on board the vessel to return to Baiæ. The deed is done. About midnight news is brought to Nero that Agrippina has escaped. Anicetus asks leave, and obtains it, to plan a new crime. He arrives at Baiæ about the second hour after midnight; surrounds the villa of Agrippina with a guard, and hastes to her bed-room. The slaves are terrified, and fly. Agrippina becomes anxious, on finding that no one, not even Agerinus, comes from Nero; that the whole appearance of the scene is changed before her room; that no one is to be seen; and that sudden noises are heard: she is at length deserted by her maid, and is presently killed by a centurion. That very night, about the fifth hour, she is burnt on a dining couch.

[r] *Trierarcho Herculeo*] Asconius Pedianus in Verr. i, 20. 'Trierarchus, navi triremi præpositus. Triremis ternos remorum ordines habet: ita et biremis, et quadriremis, et deinceps dicuntur.' So in ancient inscriptions we meet with the name: C. MVSSIDI. CAPITON. MIL. CLASS. PR. MISEN. EX $\overline{\text{III}}$ PIETATE. i. e. 'Caii Mussidii Capitonis Militis Classis Prætoriæ Misenatium ex Triremi Pietate,' or, which was called Piety. 'Hercules Triremis,' $\overline{\text{III}}$ HER. is mentioned in an inscription found at Ravenna, and published by Oliver, Marmora Pisaurensia, p. 175. In other inscriptions occurs $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ VESTA, i. e. 'quadriremis Vesta:' V. VICTORIA, i. e. 'quinqueremis Victoria.' Yet I would not omit saying that Tacitus mentions in H. ii, 16. 'trierarchum liburnicarum.'

trem feri,'[s] exclamavit: multisque vulneribus confecta est.

9. Hæc consensu produntur. Aspexeritne matrem[t] exanimem Nero, et formam corporis ejus laudaverit, sunt qui tradiderint, sunt qui abnuant. Cremata est nocte eadem, convivali lecto,[u] et exsequiis vilibus: neque, dum Nero rerum potiebatur, congesta et clausa humus; mox domesticorum cura, levem tumulum[v] accepit, viam Miseni propter, et villam Cæsaris[x] dictatoris, quæ subjectos sinus editissima prospectat. Accenso rogo, libertus ejus, cognomento Mnester,[y] ipse ferro se transegit; incertum caritate in patronam, an metu exitii. Hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agrippina, contempseratque: nam consulenti super Nerone, responderunt Chaldæi, 'fore ut imperaret, matremque occideret:' atque illa, 'Occidat,' inquit, 'dum imperet.'

10. Sed a Cæsare, perfecto demum scelere, magnitudo ejus intellecta est: reliquo noctis, modo per silentium defixus, sæpius pavore exsurgens, et mentis inops, lucem opperiebatur, tamquam exitium allaturam. Atque eum, auctore Burro, prima centurionum tribunorumque adulatio[z] ad spem firmavit, prensantium manu, gratan-

[s] *Ventrem feri*] Otherwise, and with less spirit, Dio, lxi, p. 696. τὴν γαστέρα ἀπογυμνώσασα, Παῖε ταύτην, ἔφη, Ἀνίκητε, παῖε, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν. 'Baring her womb, she said, Strike this, Anicetus, since it brought forth Nero.' And not better, Seneca, or whoever wrote the tragedy of Octavia, act i, line 368. 'Cædis moriens illa ministrum Rogat infelix, utero dirum Condat ut ensem. Hic est, hic est fodiendus, ait, Ferro, monstrum qui tale tulit. Post hanc vocem cum supremo Mistam gemitu Animam tandem per fera tristem Vulnera reddit.'

[t] *Aspexeritne*] See Suet. l. c. Dio states, lxi, p. 696. that to make himself certain of the deed, he viewed the body of his mother, and said, 'I did not know I had so beautiful a mother:' Οὐκ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον.

[u] *Convivali lecto*] The Romans lay on couches at dinner. On such a couch as this she is burnt, no time being allowed even for preparing a funeral.

[v] *Levem tumulum*] It has still the name of *Sepolchro d' Agrippina*, as said above.

[x] *Villam Cæsaris*] Its ruins are still seen in the mount within *Porto di Baja* and *Mare moto:* and there is found a marble statue with the inscription, GEN. C. IVL. CAES. 'Genio Caii Julii Cæsaris.' See Scipio Mazzella, Antichità di Pozzuolo, c. 21. p. 182. Before luxury had become excessive, 'C. Marius, et C. Pompeius, et Cæsar, extruxerunt quidem villas in regione Baiana, sed illas imposuerunt summis jugis montium. Videbatur hoc magis militare, ex edito speculari late longeque subjecta. Aspice quam positionem elegerunt, quibus ædificia excitaverunt locis, et qualia: scias non villas esse, sed castra.' Senec. Ep. LI.

[y] *Mnester*] The player Mnester, mentioned A. xi, 36, is a different person.

[z] *Tribunorumque adulatio*] This

tiumque, 'quod discrimen improvisum, et matris facinus evasisset.' Amici dehinc adire templa: et, cœpto exemplo, proxima Campaniæ municipia victimis et legationibus lætitiam testari. Ipse, diversa simulatione, mœstus, et quasi incolumitati suæ infensus, ac morti parentis inlacrymans. Quia tamen non, ut hominum vultus, ita locorum facies mutantur, obversabaturque maris illius et littorum gravis aspectus (et erant, qui crederent, sonitum tubæ collibus circum editis, planctusque tumulo matris audiri), Neapolim[a] concessit, literasque[b] ad senatum misit, quarum summa erat:—

11. 'Repertum cum ferro percussorem Agerinum, ex intimis Agrippinæ libertis, et luisse eam pœnam conscientia, qua scelus paravisset.' Adjiciebat crimina longius repetita; quod 'consortium imperii, juraturasque in fœminæ verba prætorias cohortes, idemque dedecus senatus et populi speravisset: ac posteaquam frustra optata sint, infensa militibus patribusque et plebi, dissuasisset donativum et congiarium,[c] periculaque viris inlustribus instruxisset. Quanto suo labore perpetratum, ne inrumperet curiam, ne gentibus externis responsa daret!'[d] Temporum quoque Claudianorum obliqua insectatione,[e] cuncta ejus dominationis flagitia in matrem transtulit, 'publica fortuna extinctam' referens: namque et naufragium narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse, quis adeo hebes inveniretur, ut crederet? aut a muliere naufraga missum cum telo unum, qui cohortes, et classes Imperatoris perfringeret? Ergo non jam Nero,[f] cujus imma-

adulation pervaded the people, the senate, the provinces, and the divisions of Gaul. Hence, as we learn from Quintilian, Instit. Orat. viii, 5. 'insigniter Africanus [dixit] apud Neronem de morte matris: Rogant te, Cæsar, Galliæ tuæ, ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras.'

[a] *Neapolim*] *Naples.*

[b] *Literasque*] And, what is shocking, written by Seneca. Quintilian, Instit. Orat. viii, 5. 'Facit quasdam sententias sola geminatio; qualis est Senecæ in eo scripto, quod Nero ad senatum misit, occisa matre, cum se periclitatum videri vellet: Salvum me esse adhuc nec credo, nec gaudeo.'

[c] *Donativum et congiarium*] The former was given to the soldiers, the latter to the people.

[d] *Responsa daret*] This she attempted: see A. xiii, 5.

[e] *Obliqua insectatione*] Seneca had been banished in the reign of Claudius; and this remained, 'alta mente repostum.' In a mere idle boast says the same Seneca, de Constant. Sapient. xv. 'Sapienti injurias non esse.' With more truth and sincerity he says in Benef. i, 1, that it is so ordained by nature, 'ut altius injuriæ quam merita descendant; et illa cito defluant, has tenax memoria custodiat.'

[f] *Non jam Nero*] Hence it was not Nero, who by his cruelty had risen

nitas omnium questus anteibat, sed adverso rumore Seneca erat, 'quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.'

12. Miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur 'supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria,[g] utque Quinquatrus, quibus apertæ essent insidiæ, ludis annuis celebrarentur: aureum Minervæ simulacrum in curia, et juxta Principis imago statueretur: dies natalis Agrippinæ inter nefastos esset.' Thrasea Pætus,[h] silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus, exiit tum senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non præbuit. Prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere. Anguem enixa mulier; et alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanimata: jam sol repente obscuratus,[i] et tactæ de cœlo quatuordecim Urbis regiones: quæ adeo sine cura Deum eveniebant,[k] ut multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit. Ceterum, quo gravaret invidiam matris, eaque demota, auctam lenitatem suam testificaretur, fœminas inlustres Juniam et Calpurniam,[l] præfectura functos[m] Valerium Capitonem et Licinium Gabolum, sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina olim pulsos. Etiam Lolliæ Paullinæ[n] cineres reportari, sepulcrumque

superior to the complaints of the city; but it was Seneca who was talked against and hated, for having made, by such a composition, a confession of parricide.

[g] *Omnia pulvinaria*] In all the temples and at all the sacred couches. Acron in Horat. Od. I. xxxvii, 3. 'Pulvinaria dicebantur, aut lecti Deorum, aut tabulata, in quibus stabant numina, ut eminentiora viderentur.'

[h] *Thrasea Pætus*] As Seneca in his writings, so Publius Thrasea Pætus in his morals, was a Stoic, and a rigid follower of virtue. Hardened against dangers by his contempt of death, he used to say, 'Ὁ μὲν Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναί με δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὔ. 'Nero can kill me, but he cannot hurt me.' See Dio, lxi, p. 696.

[i] *Sol — obscuratus*] Plin. ii, 70. 'Solis defectum, Vipstano et Fonteio consulibus, qui fuere ante paucos annos, factum pridie Calendas Maias, Campania hora diei inter septimam et octavam sensit: Corbulo dux in Armenia inter horam diei decimam et undecimam prodidit visum.' The eclipse happened on the 30th of April in the afternoon, and was seen in Campania between one and two, according to our reckoning; in Armenia between four and five. Or, according to the more accurate calculations of Petav. Doctrin. Temp. xi, 9, the eclipse began in Campania 0 39′ in the afternoon, and ceased 2 59′: it was about nine digits. That and other portentous appearances are mentioned by Dio, lxi, p. 697.

[k] *Sine—eveniebant*] To think that the affairs of mankind go on without the care of the Almighty is to follow the madness of Epicurus. Tacitus perhaps only meant, that in the natural events he recorded, there was nothing to prove clearly the anger of Heaven.

[l] *Juniam et Calpurniam*] For Junia Calvina, see A. xii, 8. and for Calpurnia, xii, 22.

[m] *Præfectura functos*] Rather *prætura*.

[n] *Lolliæ Paullinæ*] Wife of Caius

exstrui permisit: quosque ipse nuper relegaverat, Iturium et Calvisium,[o] pœna exsolvit: nam Silana[p] fato functa erat, longinquo ab exilio Tarentum regressa, labante jam Agrippina, cujus inimicitiis conciderat, vel tum mitigata.

13. Cunctanti in oppidis Campaniæ, 'quonam modo Urbem ingrederetur; an obsequium senatus, an studia plebis reperiret,' anxio, contra deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia fœcundior extitit, 'invisum Agrippinæ nomen, et morte ejus accensum populi favorem,' disserunt: 'iret intrepidus, et venerationem sui coram experiretur:' simul 'prægredi' exposcunt, et promtiora, quam promiserant, inveniunt:[q] obvias tribus;[r] festo cultu senatum; conjugum ac liberorum agmina per sexum et ætatem disposita; exstructos, qua incederet, spectaculorum gradus, quo modo triumphi visuntur. Hinc superbus, ac publici servitii victor, Capitolium adiit, grates exsolvit; seque in omnes libidines effudit, quas male coercitas qualiscumque matris reverentia tardaverat.

14. Vetus illi copia[s] erat, curriculo quadrigarum insistere; nec minus fœdum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere, cum cœnaret: quod 'regibus et antiquis ducibus[t] factitatum' memorabat: 'idque vatum laudibus

Caligula, of whom more in A. xii, 22. See St. C. 89.

[o] *Iturium et Calvisium*] Mentioned A. xiii, 22.

[p] *Nam Silana*] Who was banished: A. xiii, 22. Tarentum is now *Taranto*.

[q] *Inveniunt*] Yet much was said and written in common against Nero, which was posted up in many places, as we learn from Dio, lxi, p. 697, Νέρων, Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων, μητροκτόνοι: 'Nero, Orestes, Alcmæon, matricides.' Those famous verses were openly proclaimed, Suet. Ner. 39. 'Quis negat Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem? Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.'

[r] *Obvias tribus*] Of the Roman people. All know that the Romans were divided into thirty-five tribes.

[s] *Vetus illi copia*] So the Mss. the Ed. princeps, and most others: but *Puteolanus*, Ernesti, and some correct *cura*. Huet rightly thought that the alteration was not needed: for *copia* is *peritia*, *facultas*. This practice and what follows is justly censured by Juv. viii, 224. 'Hæc opera, atque hæ sunt generosi Principis artes, Gaudentis fœdo peregrina ad pulpita cantu Prostitui, Graiæque apium meruisse coronæ. Majorum effigies habeant insignia vocis; Ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestæ Syrma, vel Antigones, seu personam Menalippes: Et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.' And by Apollonius, in Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. iv, 36.

[t] *Regibus—ducibus*] Hercules, it is true, and Achilles, and most of the Grecian kings and generals played on the harp: but among the Greeks music was an incitement to valor; among the Romans it was a provocative of improper passions. See Plut. de Musica, p. 1145, &c.

celebre, et Deorum honori datum: enimvero cantus Apollini sacros, talique ornatu adstare, non modo Græcis in urbibus, sed Romana apud templa, numen præcipuum et præscium.' Nec jam sisti poterat; cum Senecæ ac Burro visum, ne utraque pervinceret, alterum concedere: clausumque valle Vaticana spatium,[u] in quo equos regeret, haud promiscuo spectaculo:[v] mox ultro vocari populus Romanus, laudibusque extollere, ut est vulgus cupiens voluptatum, et, si eodem Princeps trahat, lætum. Ceterum evulgatus pudor non satietatem, ut rebantur, sed incitamentum attulit: ratusque dedecus molliri, si plures fœdasset, nobilium familiarum posteros, egestate venales, in scenam deduxit: quos fato perfunctos, ne nominatim tradam, majoribus eorum tribuendum puto:[x] nam et ejus flagitium est, qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit, quam ne delinquerent. Notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenæ promittere subegit donis ingentibus; nisi quod merces ab eo, qui jubere potest, vim necessitatis adfert.[y]

15. Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit ludos, Juvenalium vocabulo,[z] in quos passim nomina data: non nobilitas cuiquam, non ætas, aut acti honores impedimento, quominus Græci Latinive histrionis

[u] *Valle Vaticana spatium*] Caligula began the Circus, and Nero finished it. Of it Pliny writes, xxxvi, 11. 'Tertius [obeliscus] Romæ in Vaticano Caii et Neronis principum circo, ex omnibus unus omnino factus est, imitatione ejus, quem fecerat Sesostridis filius Nuncoreus.' This obelisk now stands before the church of St. Peter, where it was placed with great expense and magnificence by Sixtus V. The south part of St. Peter's church rests on the triple north wall of Nero's Circus. See Bonanni, Hist. Templi Vaticani, p. 24. and Fontana, Templum Vaticanum, p. 33.

[v] *Haud—spectaculo*] But only before the persons of the court.

[x] *Tribuendum puto*] Dio without so much consideration names them, lxi, p. 697, the Furii, the Fabii, the Porcii, the Valerii, the Mummii, the Scipios: but, as these are the names of the most illustrious of those who advanced the Roman commonwealth, he seems to me to have stated rather what had the semblance of truth, than what was true: and therefore I shall not transcribe the passage.

[y] *Adfert*] How short, but how important a lesson for princes!

[z] *Juvenalium vocabulo*] Nero, when 21 years old, 'barbam primam posuit, conditamque in auream pyxidem, et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam, Jovi Capitolino consecravit,' Suet. Ner. 12. and instituted the Juvenile sports, Ἰουβενάλια: Dio, lxi, p. 698. These games were used by his posterity, as is said of Domitian by Dio, lxvii, p. 767. and were celebrated on the 1st of January: Sidon. Carm. xxiii, 307. &c. On the beards of the Romans many have said much: I will only state that Adrian was the first to let his beard grow: Dio, lxviii, p. 777.

artem exercerent, usque ad gestus modosque haud viriles. Quin et fœminæ inlustres[a] deformia meditari: exstructaque apud nemus, quod navali stagno[b] circumposuit Augustus, conventicula, et cauponæ, et posita veno inritamenta luxus: dabanturque stipes,[c] quas boni necessitate, intemperantes gloria, consumerent. Inde gliscere flagitia et infamia: nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circumdedit, quam illa colluvies. Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur; nedum, inter certamina vitiorum, pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris reservaretur. Postremo ipse scenam incedit, multa cura tentans citharam et præmeditans, adsistentibus familiaribus: accesserat cohors militum, centuriones, tribunique; et mœrens Burrus, ac laudans.[d] Tuncque primum[e] conscripti sunt equites Romani, cognomento Augustanorum, ætate ac robore conspicui, et pars ingenio procaces, alii in spe potentiæ. Hi dies ac noctes plausibus personare; formam Principis vocemque Deum vocabulis[f] appellantes: quasi per virtutem clari honoratique agere.

[a] *Fœminæ inlustres*] Of these disgraceful scenes, that of Ælia Catella is a famous one; who, though remarkable for her rank and wealth, danced at the age of 80: Αἰλία Κατέλλα, *τοῦτο μὲν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προήκουσα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ προφέρουσα, (ὀγδοηκοντοῦτις γὰρ ἦν,) ὠρχήσατο.* Dio, lxi, p. 698. Other instances may be seen in the same historian.

[b] *Navali stagno*] In the 14th district of the city, as was said above in A. xii, 56.

[c] *Dabanturque stipes*] Money was given by the Emperor, which in these taverns and places of crime the good spent from motives of fear, and the intemperate from glorying in their bad propensities. Thus formerly, but not in an improper manner, Augustus, on the salutations of the Alexandrian sailors, 'admodum exhilaratus quadragenos aureos [*Angl.* 40*l.*] comitibus divisit: jusquejurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam, quam in emtionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumturos. Sed et ceteros continuos dies, inter varia munuscula, togas insuper ac pallia distribuit; lege proposita, ut Romani Græco, Græci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue et exercentes ephebos.—Iisdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo præbuit, permissa, immo exacta, jocandi licentia; diripiendique pomorum et opsoniorum, rerumque missilium.' Suet. Aug. 98.

[d] *Mœrens—laudans*] Observe the happy brevity of Tacitus, so superior to all the false show of words and sentences.

[e] *Tuncque primum*] For others, and in greater number, were afterwards enrolled, of whom Suet. Ner. 20. 'Adolescentes equestris ordinis, et quinque amplius millia e plebe robustissimæ juventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones, plausuum genera condiscerent, (bombos, et imbrices, et testas vocabant) operamque navarent cantanti sibi, insignes pinguissima coma, et excellentissimo cultu pueri, nec sine annulo lævis [manibus], quorum duces quadragena millia HS. [*Angl.* 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] merebant.' In ch. 25. he calls them 'Augustianos:' of whom much is said by Dio, lxi, p. 699.

[f] *Deum vocabulis*] They described the form and voice of Nero as equal

16. Ne tamen ludicræ tantum Imperatoris artes notescerent, carminum quoque studium affectavit, contractis quibus aliqua pangendi facultas. Nec dum insignis ætatis nati,[g] considere simul, et allatos,[h] vel ibidem repertos versus connectere; atque ipsius verba, quoquo modo prolata, supplere: quod species ipsa carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu, nec ore uno fluens. Etiam sapientiæ doctoribus tempus impertiebat post epulas, utque contraria adseverantium[i] discordiæ eruerentur: nec deerant, qui ore vultuque tristi[k] inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent.

17. Sub idem tempus, levi contentione atrox cædes orta inter colonos Nucerinos Pompeianosque,[l] gladiatorio spectaculo, quod Livineius Regulus, quem motum senatu retuli,[m] edebat: quippe oppidana lascivia invicem incessentes, probra, deinde saxa, postremo ferrum sumsere, validiore Pompeianorum plebe, apud quos spectaculum edebatur. Ergo reportati sunt in Urbem multi e Nucerinis trunco per vulnera corpore, ac plerique liberorum ac parentum mortes deflebant: cujus rei judicium Princeps senatui, senatus consulibus permisit; et rursus re ad patres relata, prohibiti publice in decem annos ejusmodi cœtu Pompeiani, collegiaque, quæ contra leges instituerant, dissoluta. Livineius, et qui alii seditionem conciverant, exilio multati sunt.

18. Motus senatu[n] et Pedius Blæsus, accusantibus Cyrenensibus,[o] 'violatum ab eo thesaurum Æsculapii, delectumque militarem pretio et ambitione corruptum.' Iidem Cyrenenses reum agebant Acilium Strabonem, prætoria potestate usum,[p] et missum disceptatorem a

to those of the gods, and gave them divine appellations.

[g] *Nec—nati*] I should prefer, *quibus aliqua pangendi facultas, nec dum insignis. Ætate pares, considere simul.*

[h] *Et allatos*] By Nero, as Huet explains it. Sueton. in Ner. 52. mentions the poetic talents of Nero.

[i] *Contraria adseverantium*] As Nero cared little for these matters, and as these professors made contradictory assertions, according to their manner, clamor, strife, and discord rose among the parties. The emperor was more desirous of ridiculing than of learning philosophy.

[k] *Tristi*] I suppose, of the Stoics and Cynics.

[l] *Nucerinos Pompeianosque*] People of Campania. Nuceria, now *Nocera.* 'Pompeii, haud procul aspectante monte Vesuvio, alluente vero Sarno amne,' Plin. iii, 5, § 9. But Pompeii became extinct with Pliny. Sarnus is now *Sarno.*

[m] *Retuli*] In the books which are lost. Perhaps he is the same as the person mentioned in A. iii, 11.

[n] *Motus senatu*] Afterwards reinstated: H. i, 77.

[o] *Cyrenensibus*] A. iii, 70.

[p] *Prætoria—usum*] This power was

Claudio agrorum quos regis Apionis quondam habitos,[q] et populo Romano cum regno relictos, proximus quisque possessor invaserant, diutinaque licentia et injuria, quasi jure et æquo, nitebantur. Igitur abjudicatis agris, orta adversus judicem invidia: et senatus, 'ignota sibi esse mandata Claudii, et consulendum Principem,' respondit. Nero, probata Strabonis sententia, 'se nihilominus subvenire sociis, et usurpata concedere,' scripsit.

19. Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri[r] et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant. Ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris, et elegantia vitæ, quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus.[s]

20. [A.U.C. 813. J.C. 60.] Nerone quartum, Cornelio Cosso consulibus,[t] quinquennale ludicrum[u] Romæ insti-

added to increase his authority. Thus in the medals of Pupius, in Pellerin's Recueil de Médailles de Villes, vol. i, p. 11. Pupius is sometimes called TAMIAC, i.e. 'quæstor;' sometimes ANTIΣΤΡΑ. ΚΑΙ TAMIAC, i.e. 'proprætor and quæstor.'

[q] *Regis—habitos*] Lips. and Ryck. prefer *regi Apioni*: for so in A. xi, 35. 'Quidquid habitum Neronibus et Drusis.' Of king Apion, Liv. Epit. lxx. 'Ptolemæus, Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomentum Apionis fuit, mortuus hæredem populum Romanum reliquit: et ejus regni civitates senatus liberas esse jussit.' This happened A.U.C. 658. Rufus Festus, in Breviario, Ammian. Marcell. xxii, 16. and St. Jerome in Chronic. distinguish two Apions; one, the king of the sandy part of Libya, 'qui moriens Romanos testamento dimisit hæredes,' Olympiad 171: the other, king of Libya Pentapolis, which he bequeathed to the Romans, in the third year of Olymp. 178. With them agrees Jos. Scaliger, in his notes to Chronic. ann. 1921 and 1952. But the authority of Livy, Tacitus, Justin, Appian, and Eutropius is to be preferred, who acknowlege one Apion, the king of Cyrenæ, as is observed by Valerius in his notes on Ammian. Marcell. l. c. To this king, Ptolemy Apion, is thought to appertain a coin which is extant in Pellerin's Recueil de Médailles de Rois, Tab. 6. p. 56. On one side is the king's head surrounded with a diadem: on the other, the name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟ. i. e. 'of king Ptolemy;' and laserwort, the Cyrenaic symbol. 'In Cyrenaica provincia [reperitur]—magnificum in usu medicamentisque, et ad pondus argenti denarii pensum.' Plin. xix, 3.

[r] *Domitii Afri*] See A. iv, 52. and Dial. de Orat. 15. M. Servilius Nonianus is the same as the person mentioned in A. vi, 31. and in Dial. de Orat. 23.

[s] *Morum diversus*] For Domitius 'quoquo facinore properus clarescere:' Ann. l. c.

[t] *Cornelio Cosso coss.*] Nero Claudius Augustus IV. and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus were consuls A.U.C. 813. J.C. 60. In an ancient inscr. ap. Grut. p. 8. n. 5.

NERONE CÆSARE
AUG. IIII.
COSSO. LENTULO. COSSI. F. COS.

[u] *Quinquennale ludicrum*] He celebrated the end of each period of five years by a new description of games. Suet. Ner. 12. 'Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romæ, more Græco triplex, musicum, gymnicum, equestre, quod appellavit Neronia.' See also Dio, lxi, p. 699. Of this two very small brass coins were struck in testimony, formerly in the Museum of the College of Louis the

tutum est, ad morem Græci certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova: quippe erant qui 'Cn. quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus' ferrent, 'quod mansuram theatri sedem[v] posuisset; nam antea subitariis gradibus,[x] et scena in tempus structa, ludos edi solitos; vel, si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse; ne, si consideret, theatro dies totos ignavia continuaret. Spectaculorum quidem antiquitas servaretur, quotiens prætores ederent, nulla cuiquam civium necessitate certandi. Ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores, funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut, quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat, in Urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis juventus, gymnasia, et otia, et turpes amores exercendo, Principe et senatu auctoribus; qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant: proceres Romani, specie orationum et carminum, scena polluantur. Quid superesse, nisi ut corpora quoque nudent, et cæstus assumant, easque pugnas pro militia et armis meditentur? An justitiam augurii,[y] et decurias equitum, egregium judicandi munus expleturos, si fractos sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? Noctes quoque dedecori adjectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur; sed cœtu promiscuo, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, per tenebras audeat.'

21. Pluribus ipsa licentia[z] placebat, ac tamen honesta

Great: NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GERM. The head is bare. On the back are a table, a vessel, and a crown: CER. QVINQ. ROM. CON. SC. i.e., 'certamen quinquennale Romæ constitutum senatusconsulto.'

[v] *Theatri sedem*] In his second consulate, A.U.C. 699. Pompey built a theatre, which would easily contain forty thousand persons: Plin. xxxvi, 15, 7. To consecrate and secure the perpetuity of it, he added a temple of Venus the Victorious, and dedicated it with splendid games: Plin. viii, 7. Against this 'turpitudinum arcem' Tertullian strongly inveighs, De Spectac. x. Of this theatre we have spoken A. vi, 45. Its relics still remain, and may be seen in Piranesi's Antichità Romane, vol. iv. Tab. 38.

[x] *Subitariis gradibus*] These theatres, though for a temporary purpose, and with tiers of benches for the occasion, were yet built of stone and marble, in the most luxurious style. Of the theatre of Scaurus, the pit of which contained eighty thousand persons, see Plin. xxxvi, 15, n. 7. Donat. de Urb. Rom. iii, 7.

[y] *Justitiam augurii*] Will they be equal to the offices of augurs or judges.

[z] *Ipsa licentia*] Tacitus, who is concise but strong, lets us see his opinion of the stage by the term 'licentia.' The more florishing the condition of kingdoms, the greater is the licentiousness of the theatres. With truth and with Christian feeling Tertullian, Apolog. 6. wrote of 'theatra stuprandis moribus orientia.' Pliny himself thus writes in Ep. iv, 22. 'Placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic om-

nomina prætendebant: 'Majores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis,[a] pro fortuna, quæ tum erat; eoque a Tuscis accitos histriones,[b] a Thuriis equorum certamina;[c] et, possessa Achaia Asiaque, ludos curatius editos: neque quemquam Romæ, honesto loco ortum, ad theatrales artes degeneravisse,[d] ducentis jam annis a L. Mummii triumpho,[e] qui primus id genus spectaculi in Urbe præbuerit. Sed et consultum parcimoniæ,[f] quod perpetua sedes theatro locata sit, potius quam immenso sumtu singulos per annos consurgeret ac strueretur: nec perinde magistratus rem familiarem exhausturos, aut populo efflagitandi Græca certamina a magistratibus causam fore, cum eo sumtu respublica fungatur. Oratorum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis allaturas: nec cuiquam judici grave, aures studiis honestis et voluptatibus concessis im-

nium: nam Viennensium vitia intra ipsos resident, nostra late vagantur. Utque in corporibus, sic in imperiis gravissimus est morbus, qui a capite diffunditur.'

[a] *Spectaculorum oblectamentis*] While the Romans were yet in their rude state, the shows were a matter of mere entertainment: but in their refined state, they exhibited examples and encouragements to vice.

[b] *Accitos histriones*] In the consulate of C. Sulpicius Pæticus and C. Licinius Stolo, A.U.C. 390, the Romons were so superstitious, as to attempt to drive away pestilence by the institution (among other means of appeasing the anger of the gods) of scenic exhibitions, which were a novelty to a martial people. Liv. vii, 2. 'Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juventus, simul inconditis inter se jocularia fundentes versibus, cœpere; nec absoni a voce motus erant: accepta itaque res, sæpiusque usurpando excitata; vernaculis artificibus, quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur; nomen histrionibus inditum.' He adds much on the subject of satires and fables, and thus concludes: 'Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est; ut appareret, quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.'

[c] *Equorum certamina*] Liv. i, 35. A.U.C. 140. 'Tum primum circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus est: loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent. Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit, equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti. Solennes deinde annui mansere ludi; Romani magnique varie appellati.' The Thurii lay between the two rivers Crathis, now *Crate*, and Sybaris, now *Siburi*; in that part of Lucania, which is now called *Upper Calabria*. Plin. iii, 11. Livy says above 'ex Etruria,' because Etruria formerly extended to Capua.

[d] *Degeneravisse*] To be an actor.

[e] *A L. Mummii triumpho*] This took place on the conquest of Achaia and the overthrow of Corinth, A.U.C. 608. A. iv, 43.

[f] *Consultum parcim.*] How large the expenses formerly were in building temporary theatres, may be collected from the moveable theatre of Curio, Plin. xxxvi, 15, n. 8. but particularly from the theatre of Scaurus, whose wonderful structure he mentions n. 7.

partire: lætitiæ magis quam lasciviæ dari paucas totius quinquennii noctes, quibus, tanta luce ignium, nihil inlicitum occultari queat.' Sane nullo insigni dehonestamento id spectaculum transiit: ac ne modica quidem studia[g] plebis exarsere, quia, redditi quamquam scenæ, pantomimi certaminibus sacris[h] prohibebantur. Eloquentiæ primas nemo tulit, sed 'victorem esse Cæsarem'[i] pronuntiatum. Græci amictus,[k] quos per eos dies plerique incesserant, tum exoleverant.

22. Inter quæ et sidus cometes[l] effulsit; de quo vulgi opinio est, tamquam mutationem regnis portendat.[m] Igitur, quasi jam depulso Nerone, quisnam deligeretur anquirebant; et omnium ore Rubellius Plautus[n] celebrabatur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Julia familia. Ipse placita majorum colebat, habitu severo, casta et secreta domo; quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus. Auxit rumorem pari vanitate orta interpretatio fulguris: nam quia discumbentis Neronis apud Simbruina stagna, cui Sublaqueum[o] nomen est, ictæ dapes,[p] mensaque dis-

[g] *Ne—studia*] i. e. 'ne minimum quidem plebs commota est,' as Huet rightly explains it. Nor is Gronovius's emendation of *immodica* to be approved. Instances of passionate love for the theatre we have seen above, A. i, 77. and xiii, 25.

[h] *Certaminibus sacris*] The pantomime performers were formerly expelled from Italy; A. xiii, 25, but were now restored to the theatre; yet they were not allowed to exhibit at such Grecian games as were sacred. Hence there was no great public disgrace incurred, and the fondness of the people for the games was moderate.

[i] *Victorem esse Cæsarem*] Nor was he only pronounced conqueror in eloquence, but minstrels' crowns were presented to him from all the players: Dio, lxi, p. 699. Perhaps at this time was struck a coin formerly in the Museum of the College of Louis XIV. in all respects resembling those mentioned above, but having the emperor's head wreathed with laurel.

[k] *Græci amictus*] i. e. 'quibus plerique induti incesserant,' &c. Many coins are extant, which represent Nero as clothed in a Grecian cloak.

[l] *Sidus cometes*] Pliny, ii, 25, relates that an 'assiduus prope ac sævus cometa' appeared in the reign of Nero.

[m] *Mutationem—portendat*] Hence Lucan, i, 528. 'Crinemque timendi Sideris, et terris mutantem regna cometen.'

[n] *Rub. Plautus*] Son of Rub. Blandus and Julia, daughter of Drusus Cæsar. St. C. 76.

[o] *Sublaqueum*] Now *la Badia di Sublaco*, in the Roman territory. It was called 'Sublaqueum' from the pools or '*lacus sub* quibus jacet.' Of this town Pliny writes, iii, 12. 'Anio, [now *Teverone*,] in monte Trebanorum ortus, lacus tres amœnitate nobiles, qui nomen dedere Sublaqueo, defert in Tiberim.' There was Nero's villa. Formerly there were three lakes: now there are the remains of only one, near the chapel of St. Placidus. For the Simbruine hills, see A. xi, 13.

[p] *Ictæ dapes*] Dio, lxi, p. 697, with less accuracy, states that the whole entertainment took fire by lightning the year before.

jecta erat, idque finibus Tiburtum[q] acciderat, unde paterna Plauto origo, hunc illum[r] numine Deum destinari credebant: fovebantque multi, quibus nova et ancipitia præcolere avida et plerumque fallax ambitio est. Ergo permotus iis Nero, componit ad Plautum literas, 'consuleret quieti Urbis, seque prave diffamantibus subtraheret; esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida juventa frueretur.' Ita illuc cum conjuge Antistia[s] et paucis familiarium concessit. Iisdem diebus nimia luxus cupido infamiam et periculum Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquæ Marciæ[t] ad Urbem deductæ nando incesserat: videbaturque potus sacros et cærimoniam loci corpore toto polluisse;[u] secutaque anceps valetudo iram Deum affirmavit.

23. At Corbulo, post deleta Artaxata,[v] utendum recenti terrore ratus, ad occupanda Tigranocerta;[x] quibus excisis, metum hostium intenderet, vel, si pepercisset, clementiæ famam adipisceretur: illuc pergit non infenso exercitu, ne spem veniæ auferret; neque tamen remissa cura, gnarus facilem mutatu gentem, ut segnem ad pericula, ita infidam ad occasiones. Barbari, pro ingenio quisque, alii preces offerre, quidam deserere vicos, et in avia digredi; ac fuere qui se speluncis, ac carissima secum, abderent. Igitur dux Romanus diversis artibus, misericordia adversus supplices, celeritate adversus profugos, immitis iis qui latebras insederant, ora et exitus specuum, sarmentis virgultisque completos, igni exurit. Atque illum, fines suos prægredientem, incursavere Mardi,[y] latrociniis exerciti, contra-

[q] *Finibus Tiburtum*] Sublaqueum was not far from the Tibur, now *Tivoli*, but more eastward.

[r] *Hunc illum*] Perhaps *hinc illum*.

[s] *Antistia*] For Antistia Pollutia, wife of Rubellius, see St. C. 77.

[t] *Aquæ Marciæ*] Plin. xxxi, 3. 'Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe, frigoris salubritatisque palma, præconio Urbis, Marcia est, inter reliqua Deum munere Urbi tributa. Vocabatur hæc quondam Aufeia, fons autem ipse Pitonia: oritur in ultimis omnibus Pelignorum, [now *part of Abruzzo*,] transit Marsos et Fucinum lacum, [now *the lake of Celano*,] Romam non dubie petens. Mox in specus mersa, in Tiburtina se aperit novem millibus pass. fornicibus structis perducta. Primus eam in Urbem ducere auspicatus est Ancus Marcius, unus e regibus: postea Q. Marcius Rex in prætura A.U.C. 610. rursusque restituit M. Agrippa.'

[u] *Toto polluisse*] Perhaps *loto*. The Romans venerated the springs of rivers, nor was it allowed them to swim in them. See on this subject that very elegant epistle of Pliny, viii, 8.

[v] *Deleta Artaxata*] A. xiii, 41. Of the city itself we spoke on A. ii, 56.

[x] *Tigranocerta*] A. xii, 50.

[y] *Mardi*] These Mardi lie between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian sea. Plin. vi, 5. 'Achæi, Mardi, Cercetæ: post eos Serri, Cephalotomi.

que inrumpentem montibus defensi: quos Corbulo, immissis Iberis, vastavit, hostilemque audaciam externo sanguine[z] ultus est.

24. Ipse exercitusque, ut nullis ex prælio damnis, ita per inopiam et labores fatiscebant, carne pecudum propulsare famem adacti. Ad hæc penuria aquæ, fervida æstas, longinqua itinera, sola ducis patientia mitigabantur, eodem plura[a] quam gregario milite tolerante. Ventum dehinc in locos cultos; demessæque segetes: et ex duobus castellis, in quæ confugerant Armenii, alterum impetu captum; qui primam vim depulerant, obsidione coguntur. Unde in regionem Tauronnitium[b] transgressus, improvisum periculum vitavit: nam haud procul tentorio ejus, non ignobilis[c] barbarus cum telo repertus, ordinem insidiarum, seque auctorem et socios per tormenta edidit: convictique et puniti sunt, qui specie amicitiæ dolum parabant. Nec multo post legati Tigranocerta missi, 'patere mœnia' afferunt, 'intentos populares ad jussa;' simul hospitale donum,[d] coronam auream, tradebant: accepitque cum honore; nec quidquam Urbi detractum, quo promtius obsequium integri retinerent.

25. Præsidium regium, quod ferox juventus clauserat, non sine certamine expugnatum est: nam et prælium pro muris ausi erant, et pulsi intra munimenta aggeris, demum et inrumpentium armis cessere; quæ facilius proveniebant, quia Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur. Miserantque

In intimo eo tractu Pityus oppidum,' [now *Pitchinda.*] There is another people of this name mentioned by Plin. vi, 16. 27.

[z] *Externo sanguine*] He revenged the hostile audacity of the Mardi, not by Roman blood, but by that of the Iberians. Among the Romans, 'ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem [bellare].' Vit. Agr. 35.

[a] *Eodem plura*] *Eodem* for *ipso*. So Virg. Æn. iv, 320. 'Te propter Libycæ gentes, Nomadumque tyranni Odere; infensi Tyrii: te propter eumdem Extinctus pudor, et qua sola sidera adibam, Fama prior.'

[b] *Taurannitium*] That the Tauronnites lived between the Mardi and Tigranocerta, is clear from Corbulo's line of march. Perhaps they were so called from Mount Taurus.

[c] *Non ignobilis*] One of the grandees, as Lipsius rightly observes; and he is the person mentioned by Frontin. Strateg. ii, 9, n. 5. 'Domitius Corbulo, cum Tigranocertam obsideret, et Armenii pertinaciter viderentur toleraturi obsidionem, in quemdam ex Megistanis, quos ceperat, animadvertit, caputque ejus, balista excussum, intra munimenta hostium misit: id forte decidit in medium concilium, quod tum cum maxime habebant barbari; ad cujus conspectum, velut ostento, consternati ad deditionem festinaverunt.'

[d] *Hospitale donum*] So the king of the Nabatæi offered gold crowns of great weight to Germanicus and Agrippina, and light ones to Piso and the rest: A. ii, 57.

Hyrcani ad Principem Romanum,[e] societatem oratum, attineri a se Vologesen[f] pro pignore amicitiæ ostentantes: eos regredientes[g] Corbulo, ne Euphraten transgressi, hostium[h] custodiis circumvenirentur, dato præsidio, ad littora maris Rubri[i] deduxit: unde, vitatis Parthorum finibus, patrias in sedes remeavere.

26. Quin et Tiridaten,[k] per Medos extrema Armeniæ intrantem, præmisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato, atque ipse legionibus citis, abire procul, ac spem belli amittere subegit; quosque nobis, ob regem, aversos animis cognoverat, cædibus et incendiis perpopulatus, possessionem Armeniæ[l] usurpabat; cum advenit Tigranes, a Nerone ad capessendum imperium[m] delectus, Cappadocum ex nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos;[n] sed quod diu obses apud Urbem fuerat, usque ad servilem patientiam demissus. Nec consensu acceptus, durante apud quosdam favore Arsacidarum:[o] at plerique, superbiam Parthorum perosi, datum a Romanis regem malebant. Additum et præsidium, mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes, duæque equitum alæ: et quo facilius novum regnum tueretur, pars Armeniæ, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani, Polemonique,[p] Aristobulo, atque Antiocho parere jussæ sunt. Corbulo in Syriam abscessit, morte Ummidii[q] legati vacuam, ac sibi permissam.

27. Eodem anno, ex inlustribus Asiæ urbibus, Laodicea[r] tremore terræ prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis

[e] *Principem Rom.*] Nero.

[f] *Attineri—Vologesen*] 'Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniæ attineri:' A. xiii, 37.

[g] *Regredientes*] From Rome.

[h] *Hostium*] The Armenians and the Parthians.

[i] *Maris Rubri*] Certainly the road from Armenia into Hyrcania through Albania and the Caspian sea would be shorter, but perhaps it would not be safer. Hence they were escorted to the shores of the Red Sea, in order that they might retrace Hyrcania by a long indeed, but certain road. It were vain to attempt to divine through what provinces they passed.

[k] *Tiridaten*] King of Armenia, brother of Vologeses king of Parthia, of whom in A. xii, 51. xiii, 37. 41.

[l] *Possessionem Armeniæ*] What great joy this second victory of Corbulo caused at Rome, we learn from a very small brass coin formerly in the Museum of the College of Louis XIV. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. The head is radiated. On the other side: VICTORIA AVGVSTI II. SC. Victory is represented walking.

[m] *Imperium*] Of Armenia.

[n] *Archelai nepos*] The Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who was ordered to Rome by Tiberius, was accused in the senate, and, wearied out by distress and age, died; whether by his own hand, we know not. A. ii, 42.

[o] *Arsacidarum*] The Parthian kings, who were called Arsacidæ from Arsaces.

[p] *Polemonique*] Polemo II.

[q] *Morte Ummidii*] A. xii, 45.

[r] *Laodicea*] Now *Ladik*. A. iv, 55.

opibus revaluit. At in Italia, vetus oppidum Puteoli[s] jus coloniæ[t] et cognomentum a Nerone adipiscuntur. Veterani[u] Tarentum et Antium adscripti, non tamen infrequentiæ locorum subvenere, dilapsis pluribus in provincias, in quibus stipendia expleverant: neque conjugiis suscipiendis, neque alendis liberis sueti, orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant. Non enim, ut olim, universæ legiones deducebantur, cum tribunis et centurionibus, et sui cujusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rempublicam efficerent; sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti; numerus magis, quam colonia.[v]

28. Comitia prætorum, arbitrio senatus haberi solita, quod acriore ambitu[x] exarserant, Princeps composuit, tres, qui supra numerum petebant, legioni præficiendo:[y] auxitque patrum honorem, statuendo, 'ut, qui a privatis judicibus ad senatum provocavissent,[z] ejusdem pecuniæ periculum facerent, cujus ii qui Imperatorem appellavere;' nam antea vacuum id, solutumque pœna fuerat. Fine anni Vibius Secundus, eques Romanus, accusantibus Mauris,[a] repetundarum damnatur, atque Italia exigitur;[b] ne graviore pœna adficeretur, Vibii Crispi fratris opibus[c] enisus.

29. [A.U.C. 814. J.C. 61.] Cæsonio Pæto, Petronio

[s] *Puteoli*] Now *Pozzuolo*, in Campania. Of this city we have an excellent account by Mazella, Lofredo, and particularly Capacc. Neapol. Hist. ii, 24, p. 707, &c.

[t] *Jus coloniæ*] Long before, in A.U.C. 560, they had the rights of a colony. It seems to have been given them now for the third time.

[u] *Veterani*] These were privileges granted to veterans and such as had filled up their military service; but at this period were neglected, through desire of having their liberty, if not through mere caprice.

[v] *Numerus—colonia*] This is said with as much acuteness as truth. No writer ever unveiled in fewer words the vicious arts employed in founding colonies.

[x] *Acriore ambitu*] Since there were more by three than the usual number of candidates.

[y] *Legioni præficiendo*] Suet. Ner. 15. 'Candidatos, qui supra numerum essent, in solatium dilationis ac moræ, legionibus præposuit.'

[z] *Provocavissent*] Formerly, in the times of liberty, appeals were made from the magistrate to the people; afterwards to the emperor. Suet. Aug. 33.

[a] *Accusantibus Mauris*] On the murder of Ptolemy, Mauritania was made a Roman province.

[b] *Italia exigitur*] He is sent away, to be saved from banishment or a worse punishment. The ancient laws on extortion are briefly and clearly set forth by Heinecc. Antiq. Roman. Jurisprud. iv, 18, n. 72, &c.

[c] *Vibii—opibus*] His eloquence brought him 3000 sestertia; £2,500,000. Dial. de Orat. 8.

Turpiliano[d] consulibus, gravis clades in Britannia accepta: in qua neque A. Didius legatus,[e] ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat; et successor Veranius, modicis excursibus Siluras populatus,[f] quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus[g] est: magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe, multa in Neronem adulatione, addidit, 'subjecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset.' Sed tum Paullinus Suetonius[h] obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiæ, et rumore populi, qui neminem sine æmulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator; receptæque Armeniæ decus æquare, domitis perduellibus, cupiens. Igitur Monam insulam,[i] incolis validam, et receptaculum perfugarum, aggredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo,[k] adversus breve et incertum.[l] Sic pedes:[m] equites vado secuti, aut altiores inter undas, adnantes equis, transmisere.

30. Stabat pro littore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus fœminis[n] in modum Furiarum, quæ veste ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant: Druidæque circum,[o] preces diras, sublatis ad cœlum manibus,

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[d] *Petronio Turpiliano*] Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus were consuls A.U.C. 814. J.C. 61.

[e] *Didius legatus*] A. xii, 40. Vit. Agr. 14.

[f] *Siluras populatus*] For the Silures, see A. xii, 33. 40.

[g] *Morte prohibitus*] He died within a year. Vit. Agr. 14.

[h] *Paul. Suetonius*] A general of energy and moderation. Vit. Agr. 5. He had previously quieted the disturbances in Mauritania.

[i] *Monam ins.*] Now *the isle of Anglesea.*

[k] *Plano alveo*] Flat-bottomed boats.

[l] *Adversus—incertum*] Against a sea abounding in shallows, and inconstant.

[m] *Sic pedes*] The infantry were carried over in boats; the cavalry, by fording the shallows.

[n] *Intercursantibus fœminis*] The barbarians placed their reliance on their undisciplined multitude. Among the Germans the discipline was better, but yet not sufficiently rigid. Germ. 7.

[o] *Druidæque circum*] For the Gauls and the Britons had the same origin and the same superstitions: hence Vit. Agr. 11. 'Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione.' The manners and sacred rites of the Druids may be learned from Cæs. B. G. vi, 13, 14. and particularly from Bucher, Belg. Rom. v, 3. Their principal doctrines were the existence of the gods, and the immortality of the soul: hence their reputation was great among tribes devoted to superstition and fond of glory. Lucan, i, 450. 'Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis. Solis nosse Deos, et cœli numina vobis, Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbræ Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos, Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum Maximus, haud urget leti metus: inde, ruendi In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces

fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites; ut, quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein, cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, et igni suo[p] involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri; nam cruore captivo[q] adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant. Hæc agenti Suetonio, repentina defectio provinciæ nuntiatur.

31. Rex Icenorum[r] Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæsarem hæredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul injuria fore: quod contra vertit; adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos, velut capta, vastarentur. Jam primum uxor ejus Boudicea[s] verberibus affecta, et filiæ stupro violatæ sunt: præcipui quique Icenorum, quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exuuntur;[t] et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. Qua contumelia, et metu graviorum, (quando in formam provinciæ cesserant) rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus,[u] et qui alii, nondum servitio facti, resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio: quippe in coloniam Camulodunum[v] recens deducti, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, 'captivos, servos' appellando: foventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus, similitudine vitæ et spe

Mortis, et ignavum rediture parcere vitæ.'

[p] *Igni suo*] The lighted torches which the women carried before them.

[q] *Cruore captivo*] The same barbarous custom we have seen among the Germans: A. i, 61. These horrid rites of the Druids and their magic arts prevailed the more ferociously among the Britons, as they were then banished from Gaul. Plin. xxx, 1. 'Gallias utique possedit [magica vanitas], et quidem ad nostram memoriam: namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicorumque. Sed quid ego hæc commemorem in arte Oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis cærimoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. Adeo ista toto mundo consensere, quamquam discordi et sibi ignoto. Nec satis æstimari potest quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.' See also Suet. Claud. 25.

[r] *Rex Icenorum*] For the Iceni, see A. xii, 31.

[s] *Boudicea*] Her name is variously written.

[t] *Bonis exuuntur*] This is the eloquent complaint of Boudicea in Dio, lx, p. 701.

[u] *Trinobantibus*] Now *Middlesex* and *Essex*.

[v] *Camulodunum*] A. xii, 32.

ejusdem licentiæ. Ad hæc templum,[x] divo Claudio constitutum, quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur; delectique sacerdotes, specie religionis, omnes fortunas effundebant.[y] Nec arduum videbatur exscindere coloniam nullis munimentis septam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amœnitati prius quam usui consulitur.

32. Inter quæ, nulla palam causa, delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriæ, ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus: et fœminæ, in furore turbatæ, 'adesse exitium' canebant; externosque fremitus in curia eorum[z] auditos; consonuisse ululatibus theatrum, visamque speciem in æstuario Tamesæ subversæ coloniæ;[a] jam Oceanum cruento aspectu;[b] dilabente æstu, humanorum corporum effigies relictas, ut Britanni ad spem, ita veterani ad metum trahebant. Sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium: ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine justis armis misit; et inerat modica militum manus. Tutela templi freti, et impedientibus, qui, occulte rebellionis conscii, consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum præduxerunt, neque motis senibus et fœminis, juventus sola restitit:[c] quasi media pace incauti, multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur: et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt; templum, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugnatumque: et victor Britannus, Petilio Ceriali, legato legionis nonæ, in subsidium adventanti,

[x] *Templum*] Mentioned by Seneca in ludo de morte Claud. 'Parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt, et ut Deum orant.' As among the Trinobantes a temple was raised to Claudius; so among the Regni, in the city of Chichester, a temple had been raised to Neptune and Minerva. Its inscription was discovered in 1723.

[y] *Fortunas effundebant*] In buying victims, and conducting the sacred rites.

[z] *Curia eorum*] Of the Romans. The same prodigies are recounted by Dio, lxii, p. 700.

[a] *Subversæ coloniæ*] This is to be understood of the houses of the colony. The houses seemed to be inverted in the water of the mouth of the Thames. Dio, l. c. *Οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἑωρῶντο.*

[b] *Cruento aspectu*] Dio, l. c. *Καὶ ὁ Ὠκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη*: 'and the Ocean, which lay between the island and Gaul, was bloody, and overflowed at the time of the tide.

[c] *Sola restitit*] The old people and the women were not removed, to make the resistance of the younger part of the garrison long and determined. Murphy translates it well: *nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison.*

obvius, fudit legionem, et, quod peditum, interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra, et munimentis defensus est. Qua clade, et odiis provinciæ, quam avaritia in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.

33. At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium[d] perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum[e] maxime celebre: ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi[f] damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu et lacrymis auxilium ejus orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum, et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Eadem clades municipio Verulamio[g] fuit; quia barbari, omissis castellis præsidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, læti præda et aliorum segnes,[h] petebant. Ad septuaginta millia[i] civium et sociorum, iis quæ memoravi locis, cecidisse constitit. Neque enim capere, aut venumdare, aliudve quod belli commercium; sed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium, ac prærepta interim ultione, festinabant.

34. Jam Suetonio quartadecima legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis,[k] et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme millia armatorum erant: cum omittere cunctationem, et congredi acie parat: deligitque locum arctis faucibus, et a tergo sylva clausum; satis cognito, nihil hostium, nisi in fronte, et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum. Igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus; levis circum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques adstitit. At Britan-

[d] *Londinium*] Ms. Reg. *Londinum*. Now *London*. Even then famous for its wealth and industry.

[e] *Commeatuum*] Ships coming and going. So in Suet. Ner. 20. is mentioned 'commeatus Alexandrinorum.'

[f] *Unius oppidi*] London.

[g] *Verulamio*] The place is still called *Verulam*, near St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Here are, still seen many monuments of Roman antiquity: Camden's Brit. by Gough, vol. ii, p. 61. ed. 1806. But it has been rendered more famous, and its name immortal, by that great man, Francis Bacon.

[h] *Aliorum segnes*] i. e. 'ad alia.

[i] *Sept. millia*] According to Dio, lxii, p. 700. *μυριάδες ὀκτὼ τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν*, '80,000 of the Romans and their allies perished.'

[k] *Vicesimanis*] Of the twentieth legion.

norum copiæ passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant, quanta non alias multitudo;[l] et animo adeo fero, ut conjuges quoque testes victoriæ secum traherent, plaustrisque imponerent, quæ super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

35. Boudicea, curru filias præ se vehens,[m] ut quamque nationem accesserat, 'solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare,' testabatur;[n] 'sed tunc non, ut tantis majoribus ortam, regnum et opes; verum, ut unam e vulgo, libertatem amissam, consectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. Eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem, aut virginitatem impollutam relinquant. Adesse tamen Deos justæ vindictæ: cecidisse legionem, quæ prælium ausa sit: ceteros castris occultari, aut fugam circumspicere: ne strepitum quidem et clamorem tot millium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos. Si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie, vel cadendum esse. Id mulieri destinatum; viverent viri, et servirent.'

36. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat: qui, quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat: 'Ut spernerent sonores barbarorum[o] et inanes minas: plus illic fœminarum quam juventutis aspici: imbelles, inermes, cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium, totiens fusi, agnovissent: etiam in multis legionibus paucos esse[p] qui prælia profligarent: gloriæque eorum accessurum, quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur. Conferti tantum, et pilis emissis, post umbonibus et gladiis[q] stragem cæ-

[l] *Quanta — multitudo*] According to Dio, lxii, p. 701, Boudicea had brought together 120,000 men: τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ὄν. Nay, according to the same writer, p. 704, her army increased to 230,000: ἐς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν.

[m] *Curru—vehens*] Correctly said, and according to the barbarian method. Dio, l. c., writes with less probability, that she mounted a stage constructed after the Roman manner.

[n] *Testabatur*] The whole of this speech of Boudicea is thought by *Lipsius not to be genuine*: I think quite otherwise, and that it is the undoubted production of the pen of Tacitus. Dio has a longer oration, but a declamatory and weak one.

[o] *Sonores barbarorum*] So A. i, 65. 'Læto cantu, aut truci sonore.'

[p] *Paucos esse*] The same sentiment is expressed by Veget. iii, 20. 'Victoria per paucos fieri consuevit: tantum est, ut electi a duce sapientissimo, in his locis, in quibus ratio et utilitas postulat, ordinentur.'

[q] *Umbonibus et gladiis*] Germanicus also, in A. ii, 14. recommended 'gladios et hærentia corpori tegmina:

demque continuarent, prædæ immemores: parta victoria, cuncta ipsis cessura.' Is ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa præliorum experientia, ut certus eventus[r] Suetonius daret pugnæ signum.

37. Ac primum legio gradu immota, et angustias loci pro munimento retinens, postquam propius suggressus hostis[s] certo jactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. Idem auxiliarium impetus: et eques, protentis hastis, perfringit quod obvium et validum erat. Ceteri terga præbuere, difficili effugio, quia circumjecta vehicula sepserant abitus: et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat: confixaque telis etiam jumenta, corporum cumulum auxerant. Clara, et antiquis victoriis par, ea die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta millia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum[t] quadringentis ferme interfectis, nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicea vitam veneno finivit:[u] et Pœnius Postumus, præfectus castrorum[v] secundæ legionis, cognitis quartadecimanorum vicesimanorumque[x] prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat, abnueratque, contra ritum militiæ, jussa ducis, seipsum gladio transegit.

38. Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus[y]

densarent ictus, ora mucronibus quærerent.'

[r] *Eventus*] Better *eventu*.

[s] *Suggressus hostis*] A singular construction: for the sense is: after the Romans, on the near approach of the enemy, had discharged their darts with good aim, they rushed forth in the form of a wedge. Lipsius prefers *suggressis hostibus*. This would be well: but the best writers sometimes make mistakes, which are not on every occasion to be corrected.

[t] *Militum*] Of the Romans and the auxiliaries.

[u] *Veneno finivit*] Dio, lxii, p. 706, states with less probability, that Boudicea died of disease. Ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουνδουΐκης νόσῳ, ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένθησαν, καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν. Perhaps for *νόσῳ* we should read *τόπῳ*, as Ernesti conjectured. Where however she was so splendidly buried, is not known. That she *was interred* at Stonehenge, in Wiltshire, I do not believe. This wonderful mass of stones, which may be seen in Camden's Brit. by Gough, vol. i, p. 135, ed. 1806, and in Inigo Jones, argues much greater antiquity and a different purpose.

[v] *Castrorum*] This camp was in the country of the Silures, and gave the name to the place, called by the Britons Caer Leon, and Caer Leon ar Usk, i. e. 'the city of the legion at the river Isca:' between Isca, *Usk*, and the little river Oilwy in Monmouthshire. There are many ancient monuments and inscriptions, LEG. II. AVG. i. e. 'legionis secundæ Augustæ:' see Camden's Brit. by Gough, vol. iii, p. 107, ed. 1806.

[x] *Quartadecimanorum vicesimanorumque*] i. e. of the 14th legion, and the *vexillarii* of the 20th legion, as was said in ch. 34.

[y] *Sub pellibus*] For winter-quarters.

habitus est, ad reliqua belli perpetranda: auxitque copias Cæsar, missis e Germania duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliarium cohortibus,[z] ac mille equitibus: quorum adventu nonani[a] legionario milite suppleti sunt. Cohortes alæque novis hibernaculis locatæ, quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igni atque ferro vastatur. Sed nihil æque quam fames adfligebat serendis frugibus incuriosos, et omni ætate ad bellum versa, dum nostros commeatus sibi destinant; gentesque præferoces tardius ad pacem inclinant, quia Julius Classicianus, successor Cato[b] missus, et Suetonio discors, bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impediebat: disperseratque, 'novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine hostili ira et superbia victoris, clementer deditis consulturum.' Simul in Urbem mandabat, 'nullum prælio finem expectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio:' cujus adversa pravitati ipsius; prospera ad fortunam referebat.

39. Igitur ad spectandum Britanniæ statum missus est ex libertis Polycletus,[c] magna Neronis spe, posse auctoritate ejus, non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et rebelles barbarorum animos pace componi. Nec defuit Polycletus, quominus, ingenti agmine Italiæ Galliæque gravis, postquam Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet: sed hostibus inrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate, nondum cognita libertorum potentia erat: mirabanturque, quod dux et exercitus, tanti belli confector, servitiis obedirent.[d] Cuncta tamen ad Imperatorem in mollius relata: detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod post paucas naves in littore, remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello, 'tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano,' qui jam consulatu abierat,[e] jubetur. Is, non inritato hoste, neque lacessitus, honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.

[z] *Cohortibus*] Saville thinks with reason that the eight cohorts of the Batavians were sent, of which in H. i, 59.

[a] *Nonani*] We saw in A. xiv, 32. the destruction of the ninth legion.

[b] *Successor Cato*] Successor to the procurator Decianus, who by reason of his avarice and the hatred of the *province* to him had fled into Gaul: *ch. 32.*

[c] *Polycletus*] Justly classed in H. ii, 95. among the 'odiorum nomina.'

[d] *Servitiis obedirent*] In a like Roman manner writes P. Corneille, Cinna, iv, 6. *Jamais un affranchi n'est qu'un esclave infame, Bien qu'il change d'état, il ne change point d'âme.*

[e] *Consulatu abierat*] To make room for a consul to succeed him. We saw in ch. 29. that Petronius was consul.

40. Eodem anno Romæ insignia scelera, alterum senatoris, servili alterum audacia, admissa sunt. Domitius Balbus erat prætorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius: ei propinquus Valerius Fabianus, capessendis honoribus destinatus, subdidit testamentum, adscitis Vincio Rufino et Terentio Lentino, equitibus Romanis. Illi Antonium Primum[f] et Asinium Marcellum sociaverant. Antonius, audacia promtus; Marcellus,[g] Asinio Pollione proavo clarus, neque morum spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem[h] præcipuum malorum credebat. Igitur Fabianus tabulas, iis quos memoravi, et aliis minus inlustribus, obsignat: quod apud patres convictum: et Fabianus Antoniusque, cum Rufino et Terentio, lege Cornelīā[i] damnantur. Marcellum memoria majorum, et preces Cæsaris, pœnæ magis quam infamiæ exemere.

41. Perculit is dies Pompeium quoque Ælianum, juvenem quæstorium, tamquam flagitiorum Fabiani gnarum:[k] eique Italia, et Hispania, in qua ortus erat, interdictum est. Pari ignominia Valerius Ponticus adficitur, quod reos, ne apud præfectum Urbis[l] arguerentur, ad prætorem

[f] *Ant. Pr.*] A man of talent, but of abandoned character, of whom much is said below in the Histories.

[g] *Marcellus*] Q. Asinius Marcellus.

[h] *Paupertatem*] Excellently said. Seneca says with great truth, Ep. xvii. 'Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis.'

[i] *Lege Corn.*] The Lex de falsis, brought in by Corn. Sylla dictator. Concerning this law, Julius Paulus, Sentent. iv, Tit. 7. de lege Cornelia, Leg. 1. 'Qui testamentum falsum scripserit, recitaverit, subjecerit, signaverit, suppresserit, amoverit, resignaverit, deleverit, pœna legis Corneliæ de falsis tenebitur; id est, in insulam deportatur.' Again, in Lib. v, Tit. 25. ad legem Corneliam testamentariam, Leg. 1. 'Honestiores quidem in insulam deportantur; humiliores autem aut in metallum damnantur, aut in crucem tolluntur. Servi autem, post admissum manumissi, capite puniuntur.' Antonius was merely punished by being removed from his rank as senator: H. ii, 86.

[k] *Flagitiorum—gnarum*] This is illustrated by Paulus, Sentent. iv, Tit. 7. Leg. 2. 'Non tantum is qui testamentum subjecit, suppressit, delevit, pœna legis Corneliæ coercetur, sed et is qui sciens dolo malo id fieri jussit, faciendumve curavit.' And Lib. v, Tit. 25. Leg. 2. 'Qui ob falsum testimonium perhibendum, vel verum non perhibendum, pecuniam acceperit, dederit; judicemve, ut sententiam ferat, vel non ferat, corruperit corrumpendumve curaverit: humiliores capite puniuntur, honestiores publicatis bonis cum ipso judice in insulam deportantur.'

[l] *Præfectum Urbis*] For his dignity, see A. vi, 11. The pretors were set over capital causes: but under the emperors, 'omnia omnino crimina præfectura Urbis sibi vindicavit,' as we learn from Ulpian, Digest. Lib. i, Tit. 12. de officio præfecti Urbis, Leg. 1. Valerius Ponticus, under color of the laws, accused persons before one of these pretors: but the 'prævaricator' wished to elude the severity of the

detulisset; interim, specie legum, mox prævaricando, ultionem elusurus. Additur senatusconsulto: 'Qui talem operam emtitasset vendidissetve, perinde pœna teneretur, ac publico judicio calumniæ condemnatus.' [m]

42. Haud multo post, præfectum Urbis, Pedanium Secundum, servus ipsius interfecit; seu negata libertate, cui pretium pepigerat;[n] sive amore exoleti[o] infensus, et dominum æmulum non tolerans. Ceterum cum, vetere ex more,[p] familiam omnem, quæ sub eodem tecto mansitaverat, ad supplicium agi oporteret, concursu plebis, quæ tot innoxios protegebat, usque ad seditionem ventum est: senatuque in ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus nihil mutandum censentibus. Ex queis C. Cassius,[q] sententiæ loco, in hunc modum disseruit:—

43. 'Sæpenumero, patres conscripti, in hoc ordine interfui, cum contra instituta et leges majorum nova senatus decreta postularentur; neque sum adversatus; non quia dubitarem super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum, et quæ converterentur in deterius mutari; sed ne, nimio amore antiqui moris, studium meum extollere viderer. Simul, quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est, crebris contradictionibus destruendum non existimabam, ut maneret integrum, si quando respublica consiliis eguisset: quod hodie evenit, consulari viro domi suæ interfecto per insidias serviles, quas nemo prohibuit aut prodidit, quamvis nondum concusso[r] senatusconsulto, quod supplicium toti familiæ minitabatur. Decernite hercule impunitatem: at quem dignitas sua defendet, cum præfectura Urbis non profuerit? Quem numerus servorum tuebitur, cum Pedanium Secundum quadringenti non protexerint? Cui familia opem feret, quæ ne in metu quidem pericula nostra avertit? An, ut quidam fingere non erubes-

prefect of the city. Hence it was added to the decree of the senate, 'qui talem [prævaricatorum] operam emtitasset vendidissetve,' &c.

[m] *Calumniæ condemnatus*] Paulus, Sentent. v, Tit. 4. de Injuriis, Leg. 11. 'Qui per calumniam injuriæ actionem instituit, extra ordinem punitur: omnes enim calumniatores exilio, vel insulæ relegatione, aut ordinis amissione puniri placuit.' See also Justinian, Instit. iv, Tit. 4. de Injuriis.

[n] *Pretium pepigerat*] Slaves purchased their liberty by pinching themselves and saving their money. See Seneca, Ep. lxxx.

[o] *Exoleti*] Some fellow slave, with whom the servant and the master were in love at the same time.

[p] *Vetere ex more*] See on A. xiii, 32.

[q] *C. Cassius*] A. xii, 12.

[r] *Nondum concusso*] Nay more, confirmed, as we have seen in A. xiii, 32.

cunt, injurias suas ultus est interfector? quia de paterna pecunia[t] transegerat, aut avitum mancipium detrahebatur? Pronuntiemus ultro, dominum jure cæsum videri.

44. 'Libet argumenta conquirere in eo quod sapientioribus deliberatum est? Sed et si nunc primum statuendum haberemus, creditisne servum interficiendi domini animum insumsisse, ut non vox minax excideret? nihil per temeritatem proloqueretur? Sane consilium occuluit, telum inter ignaros paravit: num excubias transiret, cubiculi fores recluderet, lumen inferret, cædem patraret, omnibus nesciis? Multa sceleris indicia præveniunt. Servi si prodant, possumus singuli inter plures, tuti inter anxios; postremo, si pereundum sit, non inulti inter nocentes, agere. Suspecta majoribus nostris fuere ingenia servorum, etiam cum in agris aut domibus iisdem nascerentur, caritatemque dominorum statim acciperent. Postquam vero nationes in familiis[u] habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra, aut nulla sunt, colluviem istam non nisi metu coercueris. At quidam insontes peribunt. Nam et ex fuso exercitu, cum decimus quisque fusti feritur, etiam strenui sortiuntur. Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur.'

45. Sententiæ Cassii, ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est, ita dissonæ voces respondebant, 'numerum, aut ætatem, aut sexum, ac plurimorum indubiam innocentiam' miserantium. Prævaluit tamen pars, quæ supplicium decernebat: sed obtemperari non poterat, conglobata multitudine 'saxa ac faces' minitante. Tum Cæsar populum edicto increpuit; atque omne iter, quo damnati ad pœnam ducebantur, militaribus præsidiis sepsit. Censuerat Cingonius Varro, ut liberti quoque,[x] qui sub eodem tecto fuissent, Italia deportarentur. Id a Principe prohibitum est, 'ne mos antiquus, quem misericordia non minuerat, per sævitiam intenderetur.'

46. Damnatus iisdem consulibus Tarquitius Priscus[y]

[t] *Paterna pecunia*] Lipsius rightly remarks that this is said ironically: as if he had been treating about his paternal estate, or as if an hereditary slave had been taken from him.

[u] *In familiis*] Of the crowds of slaves, see A. xii, 65.

[x] *Liberti quoque*] *There was a severe* law of Nero on this subject. See A. xiii, 32. But the emperor would not exert a new severity, lest the old should be impaired.

[y] *Tarq. Priscus*] A coin of his is extant in Vaillant, Famil. Rom. vol. ii, p. 460. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ: the head of Nero

judicum sævitia et temporum infamia, supplicia decernerentur. Quin in insula, publicatis bonis, quo longius sontem vitam traxisset, eo privatim miseriorem, et publicæ clementiæ maximum exemplum futurum.'

49. Libertas Thraseæ servitium aliorum rupit; et postquam discessionem[q] consul permiserat, pedibus in sententiam ejus iere, paucis exemtis: in quibus adulatione promtissimus fuit A. Vitellius,[r] optimum quemque jurgio lacessens, et respondenti reticens, ut pavida ingenia solent. At consules, perficere senatus decretum non ausi, de consensu[s] scripsere Cæsari. Ille, inter pudorem et iram cunctatus, postremo rescripsit, 'nulla injuria provocatum Antistium gravissimas in Principem contumelias dixisse: earum ultionem a patribus postulatam; et, pro magnitudine delicti, pœnam statui par fuisse: ceterum se, qui severitatem decernentium impediturus fuerit, moderationem non prohibere: statuerent ut vellent: datam etiam absolvendi licentiam.' His atque talibus recitatis, et offensione manifesta, non ideo aut consules mutavere relationem, aut Thrasea decessit sententia, ceterive, quæ probaverant, deseruere: pars, ne Principem objecisse invidiæ viderentur; plures numero tuti; Thrasea sueta firmitudine animi, et ne gloria intercideret.[t]

50. Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Vejento[u] conflicta-

mitigated by the senate, we learn from Julius Paulus, Sentent. v, Tit. 4. de injuriis, Leg. 15. 'Qui carmen famosum in injuriam alicujus, vel alia quælibet cantica, quo agnosci possit, composuerit, ex auctoritate amplissimi ordinis in insulam deportatur.'

[q] *Postquam discessionem*] On the permission of the consul to the senators to give their vote, they all supported the resolution of Thrasea. Of this phrase Pliny writes in Ep. viii, 14. '[Lex] ita discessionem fieri jubet, QVI HAEC SENTITIS IN HANC PARTEM: QVI ALIA OMNIA IN ILLAM PARTEM ITE QVA SENTITIS.'

[r] *A. Vitellius*] Afterwards emperor.

[s] *De consensu*] Of the senate, who had supported Thrasea's motion.

[t] *Gloria intercideret*] Thrasea is called 'veræ gloriæ exemplar' in H. ii, 91.

[u] *Fabr. Vejento*] Petronius thus praises his talents at the beginning of the Satyricon: 'Fabr. Vejento de religionis erroribus jam nunc ingeniose locutus est, et detexit quo doloso vaticinandi furore sacerdotes mysteria, illis sæpe ignota, publicant.' However, he was a ridiculous person, and, when pretor, introduced in the games dogs in the place of horses: Dio, lxi, p. 692. Afterwards under Domitian he gave his opinion on the turbot; and is thus ridiculed for it by Juv. iv, 123. 'Non cedit Vejento: sed ut fanaticus œstro Percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat; et, Ingens Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi. Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno Excidet Arviragus. Peregrina est bellua: cernis Erectas in terga sudes? hoc defuit unum Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.'

tus est, 'quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris, quibus nomen Codicillorum[v] dederat.' Adjiciebat Talius Geminus, accusator, 'venditata ab eo munera Principis, et adipiscendorum honorum jus:' quæ causa Neroni fuit suscipiendi judicii: convictumque Vejentonem Italia depulit, et libros exuri jussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabantur: mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.

51. Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis, subsidia minuebantur; concessitque vita Burrus, incertum valetudine an veneno.[x] Valetudo ex eo conjectabatur, quod in se tumescentibus paulatim faucibus et impedito meatu, spiritum finiebat. Plures jussu Neronis, quasi remedium adhiberetur, inlitum palatum ejus noxio medicamine, adseverabant: et Burrum, intellecto scelere, cum ad visendum eum Princeps venisset, aspectum ejus aversatum, sciscitanti 'hactenus' respondisse, 'ego me bene habeo.' Civitati grande desiderium ejus mansit, per memoriam virtutis, et successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima flagitia et adulteria: quippe Cæsar duos prætoriis cohortibus imposuerat: Fenium Rufum, ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumentariam sine quæstu tractabat: Sophonium Tigellinum,[y] veterem impudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. Atque illi pro cognitis moribus[z] fuere: validior Tigellinus in animo Principis, et intimis libidinibus adsumtus: prospera populi et militum fama Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.

52. Mors Burri infregit Senecæ potentiam; quia nec bonis artibus[a] idem virium erat, altero velut duce amoto,

[v] *Nomen Codicillorum*] What atrocities were written in wills, we have seen in A. vi, 38. Under Augustus the senate desired to check their licentiousness: the emperor interposed; as, though destroying freedom during his whole life, he thought beneath notice the harmless vestige of liberty which appeared in wills.

[x] *An veneno*] That Burrus died by poison, we learn from Dio, lxii, p. 706. Suet. Ner. 35. 'Burro præfecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus, toxicum misit.'

[y] *Soph. Tigell.*] He taught Nero every species of cruelty and impurity: *Πάσης ὠμότητος καὶ ἀσελγείας διδάσκαλος ἦ τῷ Νέρωνι*, as we learn from Apollonius, in Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. iv, 44, p. 186.

[z] *Pro—moribus*] Rufus and Tigellinus possessed influence of different kinds, according to their well-known difference of character.

[a] *Nec bonis artibus*] Burrus had excellent parts; and Seneca had good ones too, but not sufficiently those which mark strength of mind: he often acted unworthy of a philosopher, and especially of a Stoic,

et Nero ad deteriores inclinabat. Hi variis criminationibus Senecam adoriuntur, 'tamquam ingentes et privatum supra modum evectas opes adhuc augeret; quodque studia civium in se verteret: hortorum[b] quoque amœnitate et villarum magnificentia quasi Principem supergrederetur.' Objiciebant 'etiam eloquentiæ laudem uni sibi adsciscere, et carmina crebrius factitare,[c] postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset: nam oblectamentis Principis palam iniquum, detrectare vim ejus equos regentis; inludere voces quotiens caneret. Quem ad finem nihil in republica clarum fore, quod non ab illo reperiri credatur. Certe finitam Neronis pueritiam, et robur juventæ adesse: exueret magistrum, satis amplis doctoribus instructus, majoribus suis.'

53. At Seneca, criminantium non ignarus, prodentibus iis, quibus aliqua honesti cura, et familiaritatem ejus magis aspernante Cæsare, tempus sermoni orat; et accepto, ita incipit: 'Quartusdecimus annus est, Cæsar, ex quo spei tuæ admotus sum; octavus, ut imperium obtines: medio temporis tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meæ desit, nisi moderatio ejus. Utar magnis exemplis, nec meæ fortunæ, sed tuæ. Abavus tuus Augustus, M. Agrippæ Mitylenense secretum;[d] C. Mæcenati Urbe[e] in ipsa velut peregrinum otium permisit: quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romæ pluribus laboribus jactatus, ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis, prœmia acceperant. Ego quid aliud

in his pride, his ostentation, and his princely extravagance. He is the more deserving of censure, inasmuch as, on perceiving the tendencies of Nero, 'inter familiares solitus esset dicere, Non fore sævo illi leoni, quin, gustato semel hominis cruore, ingenita redeat sævitia.' Vet. Schol. in Juv. Sat. v, 109.

[b] *Hortorum*] See the next chapter.

[c] *Carmina —factitare*] Perhaps some of those tragedies which go under his name: sententious enough, but with little pretension to tragic excellence; and containing things which do credit neither to his genius nor his age.

[d] *Mitylenense secretum*] 'At pudenda fuit [Augusto] hæc Agrippæ ablegatio,' as Pliny testifies, vii, 45. See also Suet. Aug. 66. Tib. 10. Dio, liii, p. 518. This happened in the year U.C. 731, in which Agrippa, for the sake of avoiding giving offence, retired to the isle of Lesbos, now called *Metelin* from its principal city Mitylene.

[e] *Urbe*] In which were the princely gardens of Mæcenas. This is justly censured by Plin. xix, 4. 'Jam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa Urbe delicias, agros villasque possident. Primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus, otii magister: usque ad eum, moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura. Romæ quidem per se hortus ager pauperis erat.' Of the gardens of Mæcenas, see more in A. xv, 39.

munificentiæ tuæ adhibere potui, quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata? et quibus claritudo venit, quod juventæ tuæ rudimentis adfuisse videor; grande hujus rei pretium. At tu gratiam immensam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti, adeo ut plerumque intra me ipse volvam: Egone, equestri et provinciali loco[f] ortus, proceribus civitatis adnumeror? Inter nobiles, et longa decora præferentes, novitas mea enituit? Ubi est animus ille modicis contentus? Tales hortos instruit,[g] et per hæc suburbana incedit,[h] et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato fœnore exuberat?[i] Una defensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui.

54. 'Sed uterque mensuram implevimus, et tu, quantum Princeps tribuere amico posset, et ego, quantum amicus a Principe accipere. Cetera invidiam augent: quæ quidem, ut omnia mortalia, infra tuam magnitudinem jacent; sed mihi incumbunt: mihi subveniendum est. Quomodo in militia, aut via, fessus adminiculum orarem; ita in hoc itinere vitæ, senex, et levissimis quoque curis impar, cum opes meas ultra sustinere non possim, præsidium peto. Jube eas per procuratores tuos administrari, in tuam fortunam recipi. Nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam; sed traditis, quorum fulgore perstringor, quod temporis hortorum aut villarum curæ seponitur, in animum revocabo. Superest tibi robur, et tot per annos[k] nixum fastigii regimen: possumus seniores amici quiete respondere.[l] Hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedet, eos ad summa vexisse, qui et modica tolerarent.'

55. Ad quæ Nero sic ferme respondit: 'Quod meditatæ orationi tuæ statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui me non tantum prævisa, sed subita expedire docuisti. Abavus meus Augustus Agrippæ et Mæcenati usurpare otium post labores concessit; sed in ea ipsa ætate, cujus auctoritas tueretur, quidquid illud et quale-

[f] *Provinciali loco*] Seneca was born at Corduba, now *Cordova*, in Spain.

[g] *Hortos instruit*] Adorns with statues, fountains, groves cut into various figures, and other ornaments. Juvenal, x, 16. mentions 'magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.'

[h] *Suburbana incedit*] Seneca, Ep. cx. speaks of his Nomentan villa: 'Ex Nomentano meo te saluto.'

[i] *Lato—exuberat*] Immense indeed, since even in Britain alone, Seneca lent £333,333. 6*s*. 8*d*. under the hope of large returns: *ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας*: Dio, lxii, p. 701.

[k] *Tot per annos*] For eight years.

[l] *Quiete respondere*] Petavius would prefer *quietem respicere*.

cumque tribuisset: attamen neutrum datis a se præmiis exuit. Bello et periculis meruerant: in his enim juventa Augusti versata est. Nec mihi tela et manus tuæ defuissent, in armis agenti. Sed quod præsens conditio poscebat, ratione, consilio, præceptis pueritiam, dein juventam meam, fovisti: et tua quidem erga me munera, dum vita suppetet, æterna erunt: quæ a me habes, horti, et fœnus, et villæ, casibus obnoxia sunt: ac licet multa videantur, plerique, haudquaquam artibus tuis pares, plura tenuerunt. Pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spectantur: unde etiam rubori mihi est, quod præcipuus caritate,[m] nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.

56. 'Verum et tibi valida ætas, rebusque et fructui rerum sufficiens; et nos prima imperii spatia ingredimur: nisi forte aut te Vitellio ter consuli,[n] aut me Claudio postponis.[o] Sed quantum Volusio[p] longa parcimonia quæsivit, tantum in te mea liberalitas explere non potest. Quin, si qua in parte lubicrum adolescentiæ nostræ declinat, revocas, ornatumque robur subsidio impensius regis. Non tua moderatio, si reddideris pecuniam; nec quies, si reliqueris Principem; sed mea avaritia, meæ crudelitatis metus in ore omnium versabitur. Quod si maxime continentia tua laudetur, non tamen sapienti viro decorum fuerit, unde amico infamiam paret, inde gloriam sibi recipere.'[q] His adjicit complexum et oscula, factus natura, et consuetudine exercitus, velare odium fallacibus blanditiis. Seneca (qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum) grates agit: sed instituta prioris potentiæ commutat: prohibet cœtus salutantium: vitat comitantes:

[m] *Præcipuus caritate*] Yours to me, and mine to you.

[n] *Ter consuli*] L. Vitellius, the friend of Claudius, three times consul, and a colleague with him in the censorship, excellent as a young man, but profligate in his old age, has appeared above, A. vi, 32. and in many places of the 11th and 12th books.

[o] *Postponis*] The common reading is *præponis*. That is, 'prima imp. sp. ingredimur, plurima adhuc in te collaturi, nisi forte aut te, &c. vel quantum Volusio, &c.:' for I should read *vel* for *sed*. Claudius had thrice made Vitellius consul. Seneca had not yet been consul, unless he were elected this year to supply a vacancy, with Trebellius Maximus, as many learned men suppose.

[p] *Quantum Volusio*] Volusius is spoken of as having acquired his wealth through honorable means, A. xiii, 32.

[q] *Gloriam sibi recipere*] Each of these speeches is suited to their respective speakers. Nero is conspicuous for his guile: Seneca, according to his custom, is more the professor than the rigid follower of virtue.

rarus per Urbem; quasi valetudine infensa, aut sapientiæ studiis domi attineretur.

57. Perculso Seneca, promtum fuit Rufum Fenium imminuere,[r] Agrippinæ[s] amicitiam in eo criminantibus: validiorque in dies Tigellinus; et malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus, si Principem societate scelerum obstringeret, metus ejus rimatur: compertoque Plautum et Sullam[t] maxime timeri, Plautum in Asiam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos; 'nobilitatem eorum, et propinquos huic Orientis, illi Germaniæ exercitus' commemorat. 'Non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam incolumitatem Neronis spectare: cui caveri utcumque ab urbanis insidiis præsentia;[u] longinquos motus quonam modo comprimi posse? Erectas Gallias ad nomen dictatorium,[v] nec minus suspectos Asiæ populos, claritudine avi Drusi.[x] Sullam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam; et simulatorem segnitiæ, dum temeritati locum reperiret: Plautum magnis opibus, ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum imitamenta præferre, adsumta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia, sectaque, quæ turbidos et negotiorum appetentes faciat.'[y] Nec ultra mora. Sulla, sexto die pervectis Massiliam percussoribus, ante metum et rumorem interficitur, cum epulandi causa discumberet. Relatum caput ejus inlusit Nero, tamquam præmatura canitie deforme.

58. Plauto parari necem, non perinde occultum fuit, quia pluribus salus ejus curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris tempusque interjectum moverat famam: vulgoque fingebant, 'petitum ab eo Corbulonem,' magnis tum exercitibus præsidentem,[z] si clari atque insontes interfice-

[r] *Fenium imminuere*] Afterwards killed: A. xv, 66. 68.

[s] *Agrippinæ*] Nero's mother.

[t] *Plautum et Sullam*] Rubellius Plautus, of whom in ch. 22. and Corn. Sylla, of whom in the preceding book, ch. 47. See for both in St. C. 76. 107.

[u] *Præsentia*] Of Nero and Tigellinus.

[v] *Nomen dict.*] The name of Sylla, which had formerly been conspicuous in the dictatorship.

[x] *Avi Drusi*] Rub. Plautus was the grandson of Drusus Cæsar. Augustus, who was only the third grandfather to Nero, was the fourth grandfather to Plautus. See St. C. 76.

[y] *Quæ—faciat*] However this is the fault not so much of a sect, although austere, and, I confess, from the nature of its dogmas, arrogant; as of mankind, who are deceived themselves or deceive others by the appearance of virtue. See A. xvi, 32. It is from hence, however, that Bacon, de Augm. Scient. vi, 3. has derived that paradox: 'Non Epicuri schola, sed Stoa, veteres resp. perturbavit.'

[z] *Exerc. præsidentem*] In Syria: ch. 26.

rentur, præcipuum ad pericula: 'quin et Asiam favore juvenis arma cepisse; nec milites, ad scelus missos, aut numero validos, aut animo promtos: postquam jussa efficere nequiverint, ad spes novas transisse.' Una hæc,[a] more famæ, credentium otio augebantur. Ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum prævenit centurionem, et mandata L. Antistii, soceri,[b] attulit: 'effugeret segnem mortem, otium, suffugium,[c] et magni nominis miserationem:[d] reperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces: nullum interim subsidium aspernandum: si sexaginta milites (tot enim adveniebant) propulisset; dum refertur nuntius Neroni, dum manus alia permeat, multa secutura, quæ ad usque bellum evalescerent: denique aut salutem tali consilio quæri, aut nihil gravius audenti, quam ignavo, patiendum esse.'

59. Sed Plautum ea non movere: sive nullam opem providebat inermis atque exul; seu tædio ambiguæ spei; an amore conjugis et liberorum, quibus placabiliorem fore Principem rebatur, nulla sollicitudine turbatum. Sunt qui 'alios a socero nuncios venisse' ferant, 'tamquam nihil atrox immineret; doctoresque sapientiæ,[e] Cœranum Græci,[f] Musonium Tusci generis,[g] constantiam opperiendæ mortis, pro incerta et trepida vita suasisse.' Repertus est certe, per medium diei, nudus, exercitando corpori. Talem eum centurio trucidavit, coram Pelagone, spadone, quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministrum regium, præposuerat. Caput interfecti

[a] *Transisse. Una hæc*] I should prefer *una transisse. Hæc*, &c., or *transisse. Vana hæc.*

[b] *L. Antistii, soceri*] L. Antistius, father of Antistia Pollutia, wife of Rub. Plautus.

[c] *Otium, suffugium*] Better, *otiosum suffugium.*

[d] *Nominis mis.*] I should thus correct the text: *Effugeret segnem mortem et otiosum suffugium: magni nominis miseratione, reperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces.*

[e] *Doctoresque sap.*] The Stoics.

[f] *Cœranum Græci*] Κοίρανος in Greek. He is praised by Pliny as an author of merit. See Harduin, in Indic. Auctor. Lipsius accordingly was wrong in thinking that he was the same person as Claranus, a schoolfellow of Seneca, who 'ad cetera contemnenda a contemtu sui venit;' an Epistle which evinces much Stoic sentiment.

[g] *Musonium Tusci g.*] Ὃν φασὶ τελεώτατα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφῆσαι, 'who is said to have been the most perfect philosopher in the world:' Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. iv, 46, p. 187. By the same Philostratus he is called Βαβυλώνιος, iv, 35, p. 176. but this is not to be understood of his country, but of his philosophical pursuits, since Nero punished the philosophers as Chaldeans. On this ground, Musonius himself was banished to the isle of Gyaros: Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. vii, 16, p. 297, who here calls him Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυῤῥηνόν. Of him see more in A. xv, 71.

relatum: cujus aspectu, (ipsa Principis verba referam[h]) 'Quin,' inquit, 'Nero, deposito metu, nuptias Poppææ, ob ejusmodi terrores dilatas, maturare parat, Octaviamque conjugem amoliri, quamvis modeste agat, et nomine patris,[i] et studiis populi gravem?' Sed ad senatum literas misit, de cæde Sullæ Plautique haud confessus; verum 'utriusque turbidum ingenium esse, et sibi incolumitatem reipublicæ magna cura haberi.' Decretæ eo nomine 'supplicationes, utque Sulla et Plautus senatu moverentur,' gravioribus tamen ludibriis, quam malis.[k]

60. Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam, 'sterilem' dictitans. Exin Poppææ[l] conjungitur. Ea diu pellex, et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens, quemdam ex ministris Octaviæ impulit, 'servilem ei amorem' objicere: destinaturque reus cognomento Eucerus, natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis doctus. Actæ ob id de ancillis quæstiones, et vi tormentorum victis quibusdam, ut falsa adnuerent, plures perstitere[m] sanctitatem dominæ tueri: ex quibus una instanti Tigellino, 'castiora esse muliebria Octaviæ' respondit, 'quam os ejus.' Movetur tamen primo civilis discidii[n] specie: domumque Burri, et prædia Plauti, infausta dona, accipit. Mox in Campaniam pulsa est, addita militari custodia: inde crebri questus, nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor sapientia, et, ex mediocritate fortunæ, pauciora pericula sunt. His motus Nero, haudquaquam[o] pœnitentia flagitii, conjugem revocavit Octaviam.

[h] *Verba referam*] According to Dio, lxii, p. 707. Nero, on seeing the head of Plautus, said, 'I did not know that he had a large nose:' *οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἔφη, ὅτι μεγάλην ῥῖνα εἶχεν*: words worthy of Nero, but properly omitted by Tacitus. Aulus Plautius, a young man who was killed by Nero, of whom Suet. in Ner. 35. was a different person.

[i] *Nomine patris*] Claudius: for Octavia was the daughter of Claudius and Messalina. See St. C. 36.

[k] *Quam malis*] And these mockeries are more grievous than the oppressions themselves: for what is more grievous than this shameful slavery of the senate?

[l] *Poppææ*] Of whom much was said in A. xiii, 45, 46.

[m] *Plures perstitere*] Dio says, lxii, p. 707. that Pythias alone held out, spit at Tigellinus's face, and thus addressed him: *Μόνη δ' ἡ Πυθιὰς οὔτε τι κατεψεύσατο αὐτῆς, καίπερ πικρότατα βασανισθεῖσα, καὶ τέλος, ὡς ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἐνέκειτο αὐτῇ, προσέπτυσέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπε· Καθαρώτερον, ὦ Τιγελλῖνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἡ δέσποινά μου τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἔχει.*

[n] *Civilis discidii*] Divorce.

[o] *His—haudquaquam*] Nero, by means of the popular clamor, but without any remorse, recalled Octavia from Campania.

61. Exin læti Capitolium scandunt, Deosque tandem venerantur. Effigies Poppææ proruunt: Octaviæ imagines gestant humeris, spargunt floribus, foroque ac templis statuunt: itur etiam in Principis laudes, expetitur venerantibus.[p] Jamque et palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi militum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disjecere: mutataque,[q] quæ per seditionem verterant, et Poppææ honos repositus est. Quæ semper odio, tum et metu atrox, ne aut vulgi acrior vis ingrueret, aut Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur, provoluta genibus ejus: 'Non eo loci res suas agi, ut de matrimonio certet (quamquam id sibi vita potius), sed vitam ipsam in extremum adductam a clientelis et servitiis Octaviæ, quæ plebis[r] sibi nomen indiderint, ea in pace ausi, quæ vix bello evenirent. Arma illa adversus Principem sumta: ducem tantum defuisse, qui, motis rebus, facile reperiretur. Omitteret[s] modo Campaniam, et in Urbem ipsam pergeret, ad cujus nutum absentis tumultus cierentur. Quod alioquin suum delictum? quam cujusquam offensionem? An, quia veram progeniem penatibus Cæsarum datura sit, malle populum Romanum tibicinis Ægyptii sobolem imperatorio fastigio induci? Denique, si id rebus conducat, libens, quam coactus, acciret dominam, vel consuleret securitati justa ultione: et modicis remediis primos motus consedisse: at, si desperent uxorem Neronis fore Octaviam, illi maritum daturos.'

[p] *Expetitur venerantibus*] Gordon, *And sought to offer him in person their veneration and vows.* Murphy, *They desired him to come forth and receive their congratulations.*

[q] *Mutataque*] Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was restored to its place; and the statues of Poppæa were erected again. Seneca, Octav. iv, 791. &c. describes at large their overthrow.

[r] *Quæ plebis*] Who took on themselves to represent the populace of the city, or the Roman people. This is illustrated by Seneca, Octav. iii, 675. 'Ubi Romani vis est populi; Fregit claros quæ sæpe duces; Dedit invictæ leges patriæ, Fasces dignis civibus olim; Jussit bellum pacemque; feras Gentes domuit; captos reges Carcere clusit?'

[s] *Omitteret*] Let Octavia only leave Campania, and come to the city; who in her absence can raise such tumults. But what is Poppæa's crime? whom has she offended? Is her offence, that, because she is able to give legitimate heirs to the house of Cæsar, the Roman people would rather have on the throne the offspring of Eucerus, an Egyptian minstrel? If it were for the advantage of the state, let him recall Octavia, but in a willing rather than in a forced manner; or let him provide for his safety by a just revenge. Insurrections are quelled at their first breaking out by moderate applications: but they will give a husband to Octavia, if they despair of seeing Octavia the wife of Nero.

62. Varius sermo, et ad metum atque iram accommodatus, terruit simul audientem et accendit: sed parum valebat suspicio in servo, et quæstionibus ancillarum elusa erat. Ergo confessionem alicujus quæri placet, cui rerum quoque novarum crimen adfingeretur: et visus idoneus maternæ necis[t] patrator, Anicetus, classi apud Misenum, ut memoravi, præfectus, levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein graviore odio: quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur. Igitur accitum eum Cæsar 'operæ prioris' admonet. 'Solum incolumitati Principis adversus insidiantem matrem subvenisse: locum haud minoris gratiæ instare, si conjugem infensam depelleret: nec manu aut telo opus: fateretur Octaviæ adulterium. Occulta quidem ad præsens, sed magna ei præmia, et secessus amœnos' promittit: 'vel si negavisset, necem' intentat. Ille insita vecordia, et facilitate priorum flagitiorum, plura etiam,[u] quam jussum erat, fingit, fateturque apud amicos, quos velut consilio adhibuerat Princeps. Tum in Sardiniam[v] pellitur, ubi non inops exilium toleravit, et fato obiit.

63. At Nero, 'præfectum in spem sociandæ classis corruptum,'[x] et incusatæ paulo ante 'sterilitatis'[y] oblitus, 'abactos partus conscientia libidinum, eaque sibi comperta,' edicto memorat; insulaque Pandataria[z] Octaviam claudit. Non alia exul visentium oculos majore misericordia adfecit. Meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinæ a Tiberio;[a] recentior Juliæ memoria[b] obversabatur, a Claudio pulsæ: sed illis robur ætatis adfuerat: læta aliqua viderant, et præsentem sævitiam melioris olim fortunæ recordatione allevabant. Huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductæ in domum,[c] in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre, et

[t] *Maternæ necis*] Anicetus was the murderer of Agrippina, Nero's mother: ch. 7.

[u] *Plura etiam*] He not only confesses the adultery, but pretends that he had been bribed to bring over the fleet of the Misenians to the side of Octavia against Nero.

[v] *In Sardiniam*] Mela, ii, 7. says of it, that it is 'fertilis, et soli, quam cœli, melioris; atque ut fœcunda, ita pæne pestilens.'

[x] *Corruptum*] Which was fabricated by Anicetus, as above.

[y] *Sterilitatis*] We saw this charge made ch. 60.

[z] *Pandataria*] *The island of St. Mary*, in the bay of Puteoli.

[a] *Agr. à Tib.*] Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, was banished by Tiberius to Pandataria.

[b] *Juliæ memoria*] Of Julia, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. See St. C. 97.

[c] *In domum*] Of Nero.

statim fratre:[d] tum ancilla[e] domina validior: et Poppæa non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta: postremo crimen[f] omni exitio gravius.

64. Ac puella, vicesimo ætatis anno, inter centuriones et milites, præsagio malorum jam vita exemta, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat.[g] Paucis dehinc interjectis diebus, mori jubetur: cum jam 'viduam se, et tantum sororem'[h] testaretur, communesque 'Germanicos,'[i] et postremo 'Agrippinæ'[k] nomen cieret, 'qua incolumi, infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertulisset.' Restringitur vinculis, venæque ejus per omnes artus exsolvuntur; et, quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, præfervidi balnei vapore enecatur: additurque atrocior sævitia, quod caput amputatum latumque in Urbem Poppæa vidit. Dona ob hæc templis decreta. Quod ad eum finem memoravimus, ut, quicumque casus temporum illorum, nobis vel aliis auctoribus, noscent, præsumtum habeant, quotiens fugas et cædes jussit Princeps, totiens grates Deis actas; quæque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicæ cladis insignia fuisse. Neque tamen silebimus, si quod senatusconsultum, adulatione novum, aut patientia postremum fuit.

65. Eodem anno libertorum potissimos[l] veneno interfecisse creditus est; Doryphorum,[m] quasi adversatum

[d] *Patre—fratre*] Claudius—Britannicus.

[e] *Tum ancilla*] Acte: ch. 2. and A. xiii, 46.

[f] *Postremo crimen*] 'Abactos partus conscientia libidinum:' as above.

[g] *Morte acquiescebat*] Expressed with great elegance, though a little far-fetched. Octavia saw that her afflictions were a prelude to her death, but she was not yet at rest in her grave, which to her would be the last alleviation of her misery, and the infliction of which remained to Nero and Poppæa as the last crime they could commit against her.

[h] *Viduam—sororem*] 'Viduam,' by divorce: 'sororem,' sc. of Nero, by adoption. So Sen. Octav. iii, 658. 'Soror Augusti, non uxor, ero. Absint tantum tristes pœnæ, Lethique metus.'

[i] *Communesque Germ.*] Claudius, Germanicus, Nero Drusus, all the Germanici, and the ancestors of Octavia, who were common to her with Nero, on account of his adoption; whence Nero also was called Germanicus. See St. C. 79.

[k] *Agrippinæ*] Daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, wife of Claudius. See St. C. 93.

[l] *Libertorum potissimos*] Suet. Ner. 35. 'Libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis, mox dominationis suæ fautores, veneno, partim cibis, partim potionibus indito, intercepit.'

[m] *Doryphorum*] He was master of requests to Nero, who had given him, according to Dio, lxi, p. 692. as much as £166,666. 13s. 4d.: and who, after being thus prodigal, was now cruel to him. Suetonius, Ner. 29. mentions a Doryphorus, who ['voces quoque et ejulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus:'] but,

nuptiis Poppææ; Pallantem,[n] quod immensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret. Romanus secretis criminationibus incusaverat Senecam, ut C. Pisonis socium;[o] sed validius a Seneca eodem crimine perculsus est. Unde Pisoni timor, et orta insidiarum in Neronem magna moles, sed improspera.

as learned men suppose, Suetonius or his copyists wrote Doryphorus for Pythagoras, of whom see below, in A. xv, 37.

[n] *Pallantem*] Often mentioned in the preceding books. His tomb was discovered fifty years ago.

[o] *C. Pisonis socium*] See A. xv, 48.

ANNALES.

LIBER DECIMUS QUINTUS.

CHAP. 1. Armenia invaded by Vologeses, king of Parthia; he is repulsed by the spirit and good conduct of Corbulo—6. Cæsennius Pætus sent by Nero with a special commission to take on him the sole command in Armenia; his rashness, vanity, and want of military skill; he is besieged with his legions; Corbulo marches to his relief, but too late; Pætus obliged to surrender—18. Trophies of victory decreed at Rome, while the war is still depending—19. Debates in the senate concerning fictitious adoptions—23. Nero has a daughter by Poppæa; his immoderate joy; public monuments erected, but in vain; the child dies within four months; is deified, and a temple is built to her—24. A deputation from the Parthians, claiming a right to retain Armenia; the ambassadors dismissed without success; the conduct of the war committed to Corbulo; he enters Armenia a second time; the Parthians struck with terror; a treaty ensues, and the Parthians agree to terms of peace; Tiridates is to deposit the diadem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never resume it without the consent of Nero—32. The cities on the coast near the Alps admitted to the privileges of Latium; Nero sings on the public stage at Naples; his violent excesses in all kinds of riot and debauchery—35. Torquatus Silanus compelled to put an end to his life—37. Rome set on fire, and Nero suspected of being author of the conflagration; he seizes the ruins to his own use, and builds a magnificent palace; the Christians accused of being the incendiaries, and, though innocent, put to death with cruel barbarity—47. A variety of extraordinary omens—48. A conspiracy against Nero in favor of Caius Piso; a number of Roman knights and senators engaged in the plot; the first mover of it unknown; Subrius Flavius a forward leader; Epicharis, an enfranchised slave, endeavors to animate the conspirators; by her imprudence, and the information of Milichus, a freedman, the conspiracy is detected—56. The conspirators betray their accomplices; Lucan the poet accuses his mother—57. The fortitude of Epicharis on the rack; Fenius Rufus, though engaged in the plot, acts with vehemence against the rest of the accomplices; several illustrious men put to death—60. Seneca accused, and a tribune sent to him with the particulars of the information; his answer; he receives orders to die; his wife, Pompeia Paulina, saved by order of Nero; Seneca dies in the bath—66. Fenius Rufus accused by the rest of the conspirators—67. The firm behavior of Subrius Flavius, his intrepid answer to Nero, and his death—68. Vestinus, the consul, though innocent, commanded by a tribune to open his veins—70. Lucan the poet

dies, repeating his own verses—72. Nero distributes a largess among the soldiers; the senate convened; their base and servile flattery; oblations decreed to the gods; the month of April styled by the name Nero.

These transactions passed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
815	62	continued, Marius Celsus, Asinius Gallus.
816	63	Memmius Regulus, Verginius Rufus.
817	64	C. Læcanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silanus, M. Vestinus Atticus.

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1. [A.U.C. 815. J.C. 62.] Interea rex Parthorum Vologeses,[a] cognitis Corbulonis rebus, regemque alienigenam Tigranen[b] Armeniæ impositum; simul, fratre Tiridate pulso,[c] spretum Arsacidarum fastigium ire ultum volens; magnitudine rursum Romana, et continui fœderis reverentia, diversas ad curas trahebatur: cunctator ingenio, et defectione Hyrcanorum,[d] gentis validæ, multisque ex eo bellis inligatus. Atque illum ambiguum novus insuper nuntius contumeliæ exstimulat: quippe egressus Armenia Tigranes, Adiabenos,[e] conterminam nationem, latius ac diutius, quam per latrocinia, vastaverat: idque primores gentium ægre tolerabant: 'eo contemtionis descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incursarentur, sed temeritate obsidis,[f] tot per annos inter mancipia habiti.' Accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus,[g] quem penes Adiabenum regimen, 'quod præsidium, aut unde peteret,' rogitans. 'Jam de Armenia concessum; et proxima trahi, nisi

[a] *Vologeses*] Vologeses I. of whom in A. xii. xiii. xiv.

[b] *Tigranen*] Tigranes IV. already mentioned in A. xiv, 26.

[c] *Tiridate pulso*] A. xii, 51. xiii, 37. xiv, 26.

[d] *Defectione Hyrcanorum*] A. xiv, 25.

[e] *Adiabenos*] Now *part of Kurdistan* and *Mesopotamia*. A. xii, 13.

[f] *Temeritate obsidis*] Tigranes.

[g] *Monobazus*] Monobazus, the sovereign of the Adiabeni, inflamed the anxiety of Vologeses and the chiefs of those nations, by asking what relief was at hand, or whence he could obtain it. The Romans, he said, were already in possession of Armenia: Adiabene and the other neighboring states would be involved in the same calamity, unless the Parthians supported them: a surrender must be thought of, for the Romans were wont to treat with less severity such as submitted at discretion, than those who were taken prisoners in fighting. Monobazus was the son of Monobazus and Helen, eldest brother of Izates, and professed the Jewish faith. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xx, 4.

defendant Parthi: levius servitium apud Romanos deditis, quam captis esse.' Tiridates quoque regni profugus, per silentium, aut modice querendo, gravior erat. 'Non enim ignavia magna imperia contineri: virorum armorumque faciendum certamen: id in summa fortuna æquius, quod validius: et sua retinere, privatæ domus; de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse.'

2. Igitur commotus his Vologeses concilium vocat, et proximum sibi Tiridaten constituit, atque ita orditur: 'Hunc ego, eodem mecum patre[h] genitum, cum mihi, per ætatem, summo nomine[i] concessisset, in possessionem Armeniæ deduxi, qui tertius potentiæ gradus habetur: nam Medos Pacorus anteceperat: videbarque, contra vetera fratrum odia et certamina, familiæ nostræ penates rite composuisse: prohibent Romani, et pacem, ipsis numquam prospere lacessitam, nunc quoque in exitium suum abrumpunt. Non ibo inficias: æquitate quam sanguine, causa quam armis, retinere parta majoribus malueram: si cunctatione deliqui, virtute corrigam. Vestra quidem vis et gloria in integro est, addita modestiæ fama; quæ neque summis mortalium spernenda est, et a Diis æstimatur.' Simul diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit; promtam equitum manum, quæ regem ex more sectatur, Monesi, nobili viro, tradidit, adjectis Adiabenorum auxiliis: mandavitque 'Tigranen Armenia exturbari,' dum ipse, positis adversus Hyrcanos discordiis, vires intimas, molemque belli ciet, provinciis Romanis minitans.

3. Quæ ubi Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, legiones duas cum Verulano Severo et Vettio Bolano, subsidium Tigrani mittit, occulto præcepto, 'compositius cuncta, quam festinantius, agerent:' quippe bellum habere quam gerere, malebat: scripseratque Cæsari, 'proprio duce opus esse, qui Armeniam defenderet: Syriam, ingruente Vologese, acriore in discrimine esse.' Atque interim reliquas legiones[k] pro ripa Euphratis locat: tumultuariam provincialium manum armat: hostiles ingressus præsidiis intercipit: et, quia egena aquarum regio est, castella fontibus imposita:[l] quosdam rivos congestu arenæ abdidit.

[h] *Eodem mecum patre*] Vonones II. father of Vologeses, Tiridates, and Pacorus. A. xii, 14. and xv, 14.

[i] *Summo nomine*] The kingdom of the Parthians, the highest glory of the Arsacidæ.

[k] *Reliquas legiones*] Three legions. See A. iv, 5. and xiii, 35.

[l] *Fontibus imposita*] Corbulo erected castles near the streams of water;

4. Ea dum a Corbulone tuendæ Syriæ parantur, acto raptim agmine Moneses, ut famam sui præiret, non ideo nescium aut incautum Tigranen offendit. Occupaverat Tigranocerta, urbem copia defensorum et magnitudine mœnium[m] validam. Ad hæc Nicephorius, amnis[n] haud spernenda latitudine, partem murorum ambit: et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur:[o] inerantque milites, et provisi ante commeatus; quorum subvectu pauci avidius progressi, et repentinis hostibus circumventi, ira magis, quam metu, ceteros accenderant. Sed Partho ad exsequendas obsidiones nulla cominus audacia: raris sagittis,[p] neque clausos exterret, et semet frustratur. Adiabeni, cum promovere scalas et machinamenta inciperent, facile detrusi, mox, erumpentibus nostris, cæduntur.

5. Corbulo tamen, quamvis secundis rebus suis, moderandum fortunæ ratus, misit ad Vologesen, qui expostularent 'vim provinciæ inlatam: socium amicumque regem, cohortes Romanas circumsideri: omitteret potius obsidionem, aut se quoque in agro hostili castra positurum.' Casperius, centurio, in eam legationem delectus, apud oppidum Nisibin,[q] septem et triginta millibus passuum a Tigranocerta distantem, adiit regem, et mandata ferociter edidit. Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat, arma Romana vitandi: nec præsentia prospere fluebant: inritum obsidium: tutus manu et copiis[r] Tigranes: fugati, qui expugnationem sumserant: missæ in Armeniam legiones; et aliæ pro Syria, paratæ ultro inrumpere: sibi imbecillum equitem pabuli inopia: nam exorta vis locustarum ambederat quidquid herbidum aut frondosum. Igitur, metu abstruso, mitiora

and such rivers, as he could not defend with castles, he blocked up with sand. How destitute this whole region is of water, is well known from both ancient and modern travellers.

[m] *Et magnitudine mœnium*] Tigranes built this royal city a little before the Mithridatic war, and surrounded it with walls fifty cubits high: App. Bell. Mithr. p. 228.

[n] *Nic. amnis*] It flows into the Tigris. D'Anville thinks it is now called *Khabour*, and that Tigranocerta is the town of *Sered*.

[o] *Fl. diffidebatur*] Because it was not deep enough in those places.

[p] *Raris sagittis*] The Parthians were powerful in the use of the arrow: but they seldom used it against troops besieged within walls.

[q] *Opp. Nisibin*] A town of Adiabene in Mesopotamia, and still called *Nesibin*. Plin. vi, 13. 'Antiochia, quam Nisibin vocant. Abest ab Artaxatis DCCL. M. passuum.' In assigning this distance I imagine the transcribers must have been in error, and that we should read CCCL. M. *pass.*

[r] *Tutus m. et c.*] i. e. 'vi militum et commeatuum.' *Copiæ* is used in this sense ch. 16. Murphy well translates it: *Tigranes possessed a stronghold, well garrisoned, and provided with ample supplies.*

obtendens, 'missurum ad Imperatorem Romanum'[s] legatos, super petenda Armenia et firmanda pace,' respondet. Monesen 'omittere Tigranocerta' jubet; ipse retro concedit.

6. Hæc plures, ut 'formidine regis, et Corbulonis minis patrata' ac magnifica extollebant. Alii 'occulte pepigisse' interpretabantur; 'ut, omisso utrimque bello, et abeunte Vologese, Tigranes quoque Armenia abscederet. Cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum? Cur deserta per otium, quæ bello defenderant? An melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti? Dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio, quam cum Corbulone, certaret: Corbulo meritæ tot per annos gloriæ non ultra periculum faceret.' Nam, ut retuli,[t] proprium ducem tuendæ Armeniæ poposcerat, et adventare Cæsennius Pætus[u] audiebatur: jamque aderat, copiis ita divisis, ut quarta et duodecima legiones, addita quinta, quæ recens e Mœsis[v] excita erat, simul Pontica, et Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia Pæto obedirent: tertia, et sexta, et decima legiones, priorque Syriæ miles apud Corbulonem manerent, Cetera ex rerum usu sociarent, partirenturve. Sed neque Corbulo æmuli patiens;[x] et Pætus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, 'nihil cædis aut prædæ, usurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes' dictitans: 'se tributa ac leges, et pro umbra regis[y] Romanum jus victis impositurum.'

7. Sub idem tempus legati Vologesis, quos ad Principem missos memoravi,[z] revertere inriti; bellumque propalam sumtum a Parthis: nec Pætus detrectavit, sed duabus legionibus, quarum quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus eo in tempore, duodecimam Calavius Sabinus regebant, Armeniam intrat, tristi omine: nam in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte transmittebat, nulla palam causa, turbatus equus, qui consularia insignia[a] gestabat, retro evasit:

[s] *Imp. R.*] Nero: ch. 7.
[t] *Ut retuli*] Ch. 3.
[u] *Cæs. Pætus*] A. xiv, 29.
[v] *E Mœsis*] Mœsia was defended by two legions. A. iv, 5.
[x] *Neque—æmuli patiens*] And so much the less, as being despised by a man who would have sufficient reputation in being thought next to himself.
[y] *Umbra regis*] Tigranes, who was forced on the Armenians. But he would impose tributes and laws on the conquered Armenians.
[z] *Missos memoravi*] Ch. 5.
[a] *Consularia insignia*] The trabea and the curule chair, and other insignia of the consuls.

hostiaque,[b] quæ muniebantur, hibernaculis adsistens, semifacta opera fuga perrupit, seque vallo extulit: et pila militum[c] arsere, magis insigni prodigio, quia Parthus hostis missilibus telis decertat.

8. Ceterum Pætus, spretis ominibus, necdum satis firmatis hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariæ provisu, rapit exercitum trans montem Taurum, 'reciperandis,' ut ferebat, 'Tigranocertis, vastandisque regionibus, quas Corbulo integras omisisset.' Et capta quædam castella, gloriæque et prædæ nonnihil partum, si aut gloriam cum modo, aut prædam cum cura habuisset. Longinquis itineribus percursando, quæ obtineri nequibant; corrupto, qui captus erat, commeatu, et instante jam hyeme, reduxit exercitum; composuitque ad Cæsarem literas, quasi confecto bello, verbis magnificis, rerum vacuas.

9. Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis ripam crebrioribus præsidiis insedit: et, ne ponti injiciendo impedimentum hostiles turmæ adferrent, (jam enim subjectis campis magna specie volitabant) naves magnitudine præstantes, et connexas trabibus, ac turribus auctas, agit per amnem, catapultisque et balistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastæ longius permeabant, quam ut contrario sagittarum jactu adæquarentur. Dein pons continuatus; collesque adversi per socias cohortes, post legionum castris occupantur,[d] tanta celeritate et ostentatione virium, ut Parthi, omisso paratu invadendæ Syriæ, spem omnem in Armeniam verterent.

10. Ibi Pætus, imminentium nescius, quintam legionem procul in Ponto habebat; reliquas promiscuis militum commeatibus[e] infirmaverat; donec, adventare Vologesen magno et infenso agmine, auditum. Accitur legio duodecima, et, unde famam aucti exercitus speraverat, prodita infrequentia: qua tamen retineri castra, et eludi Parthus tractu belli poterat, si Pæto aut in suis aut in alienis

[b] *Hostiaque*] A bull, of which Plin. viii, 45. 'Hinc victimæ opimæ, et lautissima Deorum placatio, [Deo Marti immolabatur].'

[c] *Pila militum*] '[Pila] missilia erant ferro triangulo, unciarum novem, hastili pedum quinque et semis.' Veget. ii, 15. Observe the superstition of the Romans. A bull flies, and breaks through the half-finished works; and from the iron points of some javelins a flame lights up. This flame, the electric spark, is often discovered on the points of iron rods and on crosses on the towers of churches, as is known by observation in our own times.

[d] *Castris occ.*] Beyond the Euphrates. Ch. 17.

[e] *Commeatibus*] Furloughs. H. i, 46.

consiliis constantia fuisset. Verum ubi a viris militaribus adversus urgentes casus firmatus erat, rursus, ne alienæ sententiæ indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat: et tunc, relictis hibernis, 'non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed corpora et arma in hostem data,' clamitans, duxit legiones, quasi prælio certaturus: deinde, amisso centurione et paucis militibus, quos visendis hostium copiis præmiserat, trepidus remeavit: et quia minus acriter Vologeses institerat, vana rursus fiducia, tria millia delecti peditis proximo Tauri jugo imposuit, quo transitum regis arcerent: alares quoque Pannonios, robur equitatus, in parte campi locat. Conjux ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata[f] nomen est, abditi, data in præsidium cohorte, ac disperso milite, qui in uno habitus, vagum hostem promtius sustentavisset: et ægre compulsum ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur:[g] nec a Corbulone properatum, quo, gliscentibus periculis, etiam subsidii laus augeretur. Expediri tamen itineri singula millia ex tribus legionibus, et alarios octingentos, parem numerum e cohortibus, jussit.

11. At Vologeses, quamvis 'obsessa a Pæto itinera hinc peditatu, inde equite,' accepisset, nihil mutato consilio, sed vi ac minis alares exterruit, legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum centurione Tarquitio Crescente turrim, in qua præsidium agitabat, defendere auso; factaque sæpius eruptione, et cæsis, qui barbarorum propius suggrediebantur, donec ignium jactu circumveniretur: peditum si quis integer, longinqua et avia; vulnerati, castra repetivere: 'virtutem regis, sævitiam et copias gentium,' cuncta metu extollentes, facili credulitate eorum qui eadem pavebant. Ne dux quidem obniti adversis, sed cuncta militiæ munia deseruerat, missis iterum ad Corbulonem precibus, 'veniret propere, signa et aquilas, et nomen reliquum infelicis exercitus tueretur: se fidem interim, donec vita suppeditet, retenturos.'

12. Ille interritus, et parte copiarum apud Syriam relicta, ut munimenta Euphrati imposita retinerentur, qua

[f] *Arsamosata*] A city of Armenia Major, by the Euphrates: now called *Simsat.*

[g] *Corb. fateretur*] Pætus, through a false confidence as well as through a sense of shame, was with difficulty compelled to confess to Corbulo that Vologeses was pressing on him, and to request aid: and Corbulo, when requested, did not hasten; in order that in the increase of the danger he might gain an increase of glory in the aid he gave.

proximum et commeatibus non egenum, regionem Commagenam, exin Cappadociam, inde Armenios petivit. Comitabantur exercitum, præter alia sueta bello, magna vis camelorum onusta frumenti, ut simul hostem famemque[h] depelleret. Primum e perculsis Pactium, primi pili centurionem,[i] obvium habuit, dein plerosque militum: quos diversas fugæ causas obtendentes, 'redire ad signa, et clementiam Pæti experiri' monebat: 'se nisi victoribus[k] immitem esse.' Simul suas legiones adire, hortari, priorum admonere,[l] novam gloriam ostendere. 'Non vicos aut oppida Armeniorum, sed castra Romana, duasque in iis legiones pretium laboris peti. Si singulis manipularibus præcipua servati civis corona imperatoria manu tribueretur, quod illud et quantum decus, ubi par eorum numerus adipisceretur,[m] qui attulissent salutem, et qui accepissent?' His atque talibus in commune alacres, (et erant quos pericula fratrum aut propinquorum propriis stimulis incenderent) continuum diu noctuque iter properabant.

13. Eoque intentius Vologeses premere obsessos, modo vallum legionum, modo castellum,[n] quo imbellis ætas defendebatur, adpugnare, propius incedens, quam mos Parthis, si ea temeritate hostem in prælium eliceret. At illi vix contuberniis extracti; nec aliud quam munimenta propugnabant: pars jussu ducis, et alii propria ignavia, ut Corbulonem opperientes, ac si vis ingrueret, provisis exemplis Caudinæ ac Numantinæ cladis:[o] 'Neque eamdem

[h] *Famemque*] As Pætus had not supplied himself with provisions: ch. 8.

[i] *Primi pili cent.*] i. e. the first centurion: for so Liv. vii, 41. '[P. Salonius] alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili appellant.' Of the 'primipili' we have spoken in A. ii, 11. of Pactius Orfitus, A. xiii, 36.

[k] *Nisi victoribus*] That he was merciful to such only as bravely fought and conquered; unmerciful to all others.

[l] *Priorum admonere*] sc. 'victoriarum,' of which in A. xiii, 39. &c. xiv, 23. &c.

[m] *Num. adipisc.*] If it is the custom for individual soldiers, who save a citizen, to be presented by the hand of their general with the civic crown, the crown of greatest value, superior to those of gold, or to those pertaining to sieges, to walls, or to intrenchments;—what and how great must be the glory, when two whole legions obtain, as the bright reward of their valor, civic crowns for saving two whole legions!

[n] *Modo castellum*] Arsamosata: ch. 10.

[o] *Caudinæ—cladis*] In A.U.C. 433, the Samnites overcame the consuls Veturius and Postumius at the Caudinæ Furcæ, and sent the Romans under the yoke: Flor. i, 16. The slaughter at Numantia was still more severe, A.U.C. 617. Four thousand Numantines, for fourteen years, resisted a

vim[p] Samnitibus, Italico populo, aut Pœnis, Romani imperii æmulis: validam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, saluti consuluisse.' Qua desperatione exercitus dux subactus, primas tamen literas ad Vologesen, non supplices, sed in modum querentis composuit, 'quod pro Armeniis, semper Romanæ ditionis, aut subjectis regi, quem Imperator delegisset, hostilia faceret: pacem ex æquo utilem. Nec præsentia tantum spectaret: ipsum adversus duas legiones totis regni viribus advenisse: at Romanis orbem terrarum reliquum, quo bellum juvarent.'

14. Ad ea Vologeses, nihil pro causa, sed 'opperiendos sibi fratres, Pacorum ac Tiridaten,' rescripsit: 'illum locum tempusque consilio destinatum, quo de Armenia cernerent: adjecisse Deos dignum Arsacidarum,[q] simul et de legionibus Romanis statuerent.' Missi post a Pæto nuntii, et regis colloquium petitum, qui Vasacen, præfectum equitatus, ire jussit. Tum Pætus, 'Lucullos, Pompeios, et si qua Cæsares obtinendæ donandæve Armeniæ egerant:' Vasaces, 'imaginem retinendi largiendive penes nos, vim penes Parthos,' memorat: et multum invicem disceptato, Monobazus Adiabenus in diem posterum testis iis quæ pepigissent adhibetur: placuitque 'liberari obsidio legiones, et decedere omnem militem finibus Armeniorum, castellaque et commeatus Parthis tradi: quibus perpetratis, copia Vologesi fieret mittendi ad Neronem legatos.'

15. Interim flumini Arsaniæ[r] (is castra præfluebat) pontem imposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis:[s] sed Par-

Roman army of forty thousand; and made such havoc with the army of the consul Mancinus, 'ut ne oculos quidem aut vocem Numantini viri quisquam sustineret.' Flor. ii, 18. Rome had not yet received greater reverses.

[p] *Eamdem vim*] Understand 'fuisse.' Neither the Samnites, an Italian people, nor the Carthaginians themselves, the rivals of the Roman power, were ever so formidable as the Parthians.

[q] *Dignum Arsacidarum*] Vologeses wrote back that he must wait for his brothers; that the place and time must be left for a council, in which they might determine about Armenia: the gods had added a matter worthy of the glory of the Arsacidæ, viz. that they should also decide at the same time concerning the Roman legions. This meaning is so obvious, that I wonder the passage is given up by Lipsius, and corrupted by most commentators. Tacitus however perhaps wrote, *simul ut de legionibus*, &c.

[r] *Fl. Arsaniæ*] The Arsanias, now *Arsa*, a river of Armenia Major, flows into the Euphrates.

[s] *Iter expedientis*] Pætus indeed built the bridge, as if desiring to expedite his own passage: but the fact was, the Parthians had ordered it to be done, as a monument of their vic-

tbi, quasi documentum victoriæ, jusserant: namque iis usui fuit: nostri per diversum iere. Addidit rumor, 'sub jugum missas legiones,'[t] et alia ex rebus infaustis, quorum simulacrum[u] ab Armeniis usurpatum est: namque et munimenta ingressi sunt antequam agmen Romanum excederet; et circumstetere vias, captiva olim mancipia, aut jumenta agnoscentes, abstrahentesque: raptæ etiam vestes, retenta arma, pavido milite, et concedente, ne qua prælii causa existeret. Vologeses, armis et corporibus cæsorum aggregatis, quo cladem nostram testaretur, visu fugientium legionum abstinuit. Fama moderationis quærebatur postquam superbiam expleverat. Flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proximus quisque regem, vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesserat, 'pontem cessurum oneri, dolo fabricantium.' Sed qui ingredi ausi sunt, validum et fidum intellexere.

16. Ceterum obsessis adeo suppeditavisse rem frumentariam constitit, ut horreis ignem injicerent: contraque prodiderit Corbulo,[v] 'Parthos inopes copiarum, et pabulo attrito, relicturos oppugnationem, neque se plus tridui itinere abfuisse.' Adjecit, 'jurejurando Pæti cautum apud signa,[x] adstantibus iis quos testificando rex misisset, neminem Romanum Armeniam ingressurum, donec referrentur literæ Neronis, an paci annueret.' Quæ ut augendæ infamiæ composita, sic reliqua non in obscuro habentur: una die quadraginta millium spatium emensum esse Pætum, desertis passim sauciis; neque minus deformem illam fugientium trepidationem, quam si terga in acie vertissent. Corbulo, cum suis copiis apud ripam Euphratis obvius, non eam speciem insignium[y] et armorum prætulit, ut diversi-

tory; and it was of use to them. The Romans went off another way.

[t] *Sub jugum missas legiones*] Liv. iii, 28. 'Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversa una deligata.' Suetonius, Ner. 39. writes that the legions were sent under the yoke, and that Syria was retained with difficulty: but he is more fond of relating what is bad than what is true.

[u] *Quorum simulacrum*] For the Armenians did many things of a harsh nature: since they entered the intrenchments before the Roman army had quitted them, formed a line on each side, seized the slaves and the apparel which had been captured from them, and took possession of the arms.

[v] *Prod. Corbulo*] Corbulo, the rival of Jul. Cæsar, was famous for his writings as well as for his actions, and is often mentioned by Pliny.

[x] *Apud signa*] In the *principia*, among the eagles and the standards, which were the deities of the camp.

[y] *Sp. insignium*] Not glittering eagles, but standards in disorder. See note on A. iii, 2.

tatem exprobraret. Mœsti manipuli,[z] ac vicem commilitonum miserantes, ne lacrymis quidem temperare: vix præ fletu usurpata consalutatio. Decesserat certamen virtutis, et ambitio gloriæ, felicium hominum affectus: sola misericordia valebat, et apud minores magis.

17. Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc conquerente[a] 'inritum laborem: potuisse bellum fuga Parthorum finiri:' ille 'integra utrique cuncta' respondit: converterent aquilas, et juncti invaderent Armeniam, abscessu Vologesis infirmatam.' 'Non ea Imperatoris habere mandata,' Corbulo: 'periculo legionum commotum, e provincia egressum: quando in incerto habeantur Parthorum conatus, Syriam repetiturum: sic quoque optimam fortunam orandam, ut pedes, confectus spatiis itinerum, alacrem et facilitate camporum prævenientem equitem adsequeretur.' Exin Pætus per Cappadociam hibernavit. At Vologesis ad Corbulonem missi nuntii, 'detraheret castella trans Euphraten, amnemque, ut olim, medium faceret:' ille, 'Armeniam quoque diversis præsidiis vacuam[b] fieri,' expostulabat. Et postremo concessit rex: dirutaque, quæ ultra Euphraten communierat Corbulo; et Armenii sine arbitro[c] relicti sunt.

18. At Romæ tropæa de Parthis, arcusque[d] medio Capitolini montis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu, integro adhuc bello, neque tum omissa, dum aspectui consulitur, spreta conscientia. Quin et dissimulandis rerum externarum curis, Nero frumentum plebis, vetustate corruptum, in Tiberim jecit, quo securitatem annonæ sustentaret: cujus pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso, violentia tempestatis, et centum alias, Tiberi subvectas, fortuitus ignis absumsisset. Tres dein consulares,[e] L. Pisonem, Ducennium Geminum,[f] Pompeium Paullinum vectigalibus publicis præposuit, cum insectatione priorum Principum, 'qui gravitate sumtuum

[z] *Mœsti manipuli*] A passage worthy of Tacitus, and a model to historians.

[a] *Hoc conquerente*] Corbulo.

[b] *Præsidiis vacuam*] Corbulo also demanded that Vologeses should remove his garrisons, and leave Armenia free.

[c] *Sine arbitro*] Without a master. So also in A. i, 26.

[d] *Arcusque*] Concerning these trophies and the triumphal arch, see Donat. de Urbe Roma, ii, 10.

[e] *Tres consulares*] Julius Cæsar 'monetæ publicisque vectigalibus peculiares servos [præposuerat].' Suet. Jul. 76.

[f] *Duc. Geminum*] Afterwards prefect of the city. H. i, 14.

justos reditus anteissent:[g] se annuum sexcenties sestertium[h] reipublicæ largiri.'

19. Percrebuerat ea tempestate pravissimus mos, cum propinquis comitiis, aut sorte provinciarum, plerique orbi fictis adoptionibus adsciscerent filios;[i] præturasque et provincias inter patres sortiti, statim emitterent manu quos adoptaverant. Magna cum invidia senatum adeunt,[k] 'jus naturæ, labores educandi, adversus fraudem et artes et brevitatem adoptionis' enumerant: 'satis pretii esse orbis, quod multa securitate, nullis oneribus, gratiam, honores,[l] cuncta promta et obvia haberent. Sibi promissa legum[m] diu expectata in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine solicitudine parens, sine luctu orbus, longa patrum vota repente adæquaret.' Factum ex eo senatusconsultum, ne simulata adoptio in ulla parte muneris publici juvaret, ac ne usurpandis quidem hæreditatibus prodesset.'

20. Exin Claudius Timarchus, Cretensis,[n] reus agitur, ceteris criminibus, ut solent prævalidi provincialium, et opibus nimiis ad injurias minorum elati: una vox ejus usque ad contumeliam senatus penetraverat, quod dictitasset, 'in sua potestate situm, an proconsulibus, qui Cretam obtinuissent, grates agerentur.'[o] Quam occasionem Pætus Thrasea ad bonum publicum vertens, post-

[g] *Red. anteissent*] Caligula imposed the heaviest exactions; for, according to Suet. in Caio, 40. 'Vectigalia nova atque inaudita, primum per publicanos, deinde, quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque prætorianos exercuit; nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributi aliquid imponeret.'

[h] *Sexcenties sestertium*] £500,000.

[i] *Adsc. filios*] That they might obtain the pretorships and the provinces by their number of children: for these were the rights of fathers. For these privileges see on A. ii, 51. iii, 28.

[k] *Senatum adeunt*] Fathers come to the senate, and vindicate their rights.

[l] *Gratiam, honores*] Through the prospect of inheriting their possessions and through the covetousness of fortune-hunters, men of property without families received every attention and respect. This is complained of by Pliny, xiv, 1. 'Postquam cœpere orbitas in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captatio in quæstu fertilissimo, ac sola gaudia in possidendo; pessum iere vitæ pretia; omnesque a maximo bono liberales dictæ artes in contrarium cecidere, ac servitute sola profici cœptum.' The attentions paid to rich men without posterity in his own times, are painted to the life by Plaut. Mil. Glor. iii, 1, 110. These were but the beginning of the mischief.

[m] *Promissa legum*] See A. iii, 28.

[n] *Cretensis*] Crete is now *the isle of Candia*.

[o] *Grates agerentur*] Thanks were returned to proconsuls on their return to Rome for the success of their measures.

quam de reo censuerat, 'provincia Creta depellendum,' hæc addidit: 'Usu probatum est, patres conscripti, leges egregias, exempla honesta, apud bonos ex delictis aliorum gigni.[p] Sic oratorum licentia, Cinciam rogationem;[q] candidatorum ambitus, Julias leges;[r] magistratuum avaritia, Calpurnia scita[s] pepererunt: nam culpa, quam pœna, tempore prior: emendari, quam peccare, posterius est. Ergo adversus novam provincialium superbiam dignum fide constantiaque Romana capiamus consilium, quo tutelæ sociorum nihil derogetur, nobis opinio decedat,[t] qualis quisque habeatur, alibi quam in civium judicio esse.

21. 'Olim quidem non modo prætor aut consul, sed privati etiam mittebantur, qui provincias viserent, et quid de cujusque obsequio videretur, referrent; trepidabantque gentes de existimatione singulorum. At nunc colimus externos, et adulamur; et quomodo ad nutum alicujus grates, ita promtius accusatio decernitur: decernaturque, et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali modo ostentandi:[u] sed laus falsa et precibus expressa perinde cohibeantur, quam malitia, quam crudelitas. Plura sæpe peccantur,[v] dum demeremur, quam dum offendimus. Quædam immo virtutes odio sunt, severitas obstinata, invictus adversum gratiam animus. Inde initia magistratuum nostrorum meliora ferme, et finis inclinat,

[p] *Ex—gigni*] 'Vetus verbum est: Leges bonæ ex malis moribus procreantur:' Macrob. Sat. ii, 13.

[q] *Cinciam rog.*] See A. xi, 5.

[r] *Jul. leges*] Brought in by Augustus: Suet. Aug. 34. 40. The punishment awarded by those laws is mentioned by Julius Paulus, Sentent. v, Tit. 30. ad legem Juliam ambitus, leg. 1. 'Petiturus magistratus, vel provinciæ sacerdotium, si turbam suffragiorum causa conduxerit, servos advocaverit, aliamve quam multitudinem conduxerit, convictus, ut vis publicæ reus, in insulam deportatur.'

[s] *Calp. scita*] This is the Calpurnian law to compel restitution from such as were convicted of extortion; brought in by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, a tribune of the people, in the consulate of L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius, A.U.C. 605, in the beginning of the third Punic war. It was afterwards confirmed and increased by many other laws; but it was always ineffectual against an evil, than which none more ruined the republic and the empire.

[t] *Opinio decedat*] Let us come to a resolution, by which our allies shall not lose any of our protection, but by which we may remove the impression, that any others than citizens may sit in judgment on our conduct.

[u] *Ostentandi*] In the present public corruption of manners, let the right be decreed and belong to the people of the provinces, of showing their power by accusing the magistrates.

[v] *Peccantur*] These sentiments are excellent, and worthy of a Thrasea. Seneca has nothing comparable, though he speaks much on these subjects.

dum, in modum candidatorum, suffragia conquirimus: quæ, si arceantur, æqualius atque constantius provinciæ regentur: nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, ita, vetita gratiarum actione, ambitio cohibetur.'

22. Magno assensu celebrata sententia: non tamen senatusconsultum perfici potuit, abnuentibus consulibus 'ea de re relatum.'[x] Mox, auctore Principe, sanxere, 'ne quis ad concilium sociorum referret,[y] agendas apud senatum proprætoribus proveconsulibus grates, neu quis ea legatione fungeretur.' Iisdem consulibus, gymnasium[z] ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe æs liquefacta: et motu terræ, celebre Campaniæ oppidum, Pompeii,[a] magna ex parte proruit: defunctaque virgo Vestalis Lælia,[b] in cujus locum Cornelia ex familia Cossorum capta est.

23. [A.U.C. 816. J.C. 63.] Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo consulibus,[c] natam sibi ex Poppæa filiam[d] Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit, appellavitque Augustam, dato et Poppææ eodem cognomento.[e] Locus puerperio

[x] *Relatum*] The consuls had the power of making a report (relationem faciendi): the emperors enjoyed it likewise. The senators however, even before the report was made, had the power of delivering their sentiments on any subject of advantage to the country. On this occasion, after the refusal of the report by the consuls, the Emperor brought it in, and the decree of the senate took place. On these reports, see on A. ii, 38. xiii, 49.

[y] *Ad—referret*] It was the custom of the provinces to send a deputation to the senate, with an address of thanks to the proconsuls or pretors who were returned to Rome, for the blessings enjoyed by the people under their administration: hence the conclusion of the terms of office was employed in a wrong manner, and the magistrates looked out for votes as if they had been candidates. To prevent this, Augustus had forbidden, A.U.C. 764. any honor to be given to a prefect of the provinces in the time of his magistracy, or within sixty days after his return from the province: for some, according to Dio, lvi, p. 586. having thus obtained certificates of good character in the provinces, committed many excesses. After the decrees of Augustus and Nero, the old custom was revived, as we learn from Pliny, Paneg. 70. 'Volo ego, qui provinciam rexerit, non tantum codicillos amicorum, nec urbana conjuratione eblanditas preces, sed decreta coloniarum, decreta civitatum alleget; ut suffragiis consularium virorum urbes, populi, gentes inserantur. Efficacissimum pro candidato genus est rogandi, gratias agere.'

[z] *Gymnasium*] A. xiv, 47.

[a] *Opp. Pompeii*] Now *Torre dell' Annunciata*, in the bay of Naples. Seneca says that it happened the following year.

[b] *Vest. Lælia*] For the Vestal virgins, see A. ii, 86.

[c] *V. R. coss.*] C. Memmius Regulus and L. Verginius Rufus were consuls A.U.C. 816. J.C. 63. In an old inscription in Gruter, p. 56. n. 5.

L. VERGINIO RUFO
C. MEMMIO REGULO COS.

[d] *Ex P. filiam*] Claudia Augusta. St. C. 38.

[e] *Poppææ—cognomento*] He called

colonia Antium fuit,[f] ubi ipse generatus erat. Jam senatus 'uterum Poppææ' commendaverat Diis, votaque publice susceperat; quæ multiplicata, exsolutaque. Et additæ 'supplicationes, templumque Fœcunditati, et certamen ad exemplar Actiacæ religionis'[g] decretum: 'utque Fortunarum effigies[h] aureæ in solio Capitolini Jovis locarentur: ludicrum Circense, ut Juliæ genti apud Bovillas,[i] ita Claudiæ Domitiæque[k] apud Antium ederetur:' quæ fluxa fuere, quartum intra mensem defuncta infante. Rursusque exortæ adulationes, censentium 'honorem divæ, et pulvinar, ædemque et sacerdotem.' Atque ipse ut lætitiæ, ita mœroris immodicus egit. Adnotatum est, omni senatu Antium sub recentem partum effuso, Thraseam prohibitum, immoto animo, prænuntiam imminentis cædis contumeliam excepisse. Secutam dehinc vocem Cæsaris ferunt, qua, 'reconciliatum se Thraseæ,' apud Senecam jactaverit, ac Senecam Cæsari gratulatum. Unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant.

24. Inter quæ, veris principio, legati Parthorum mandata regis Vologesis, literasque in eamdem formam attulere: 'Se priora, et totiens jactata, super obtinenda Armenia, nunc omittere, quoniam Dii, quamvis potentium populorum arbitri, possessionem Parthis, non sine ignominia Romana, tradidissent. Nuper clausum Tigranen; post Pætum legionesque, cum opprimere posset, incolumes dimisisse. Satis approbatam vim: datum et lenitatis ex-

her mother Poppæa also Augusta. In this year was stamped the coin mentioned by Harduin, Select. Opp. p. 723. ΝΕΡΩ ΚΛΑΥΔ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, 'Nero Claudius Augustus:' the head radiated. On the opposite side is ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, 'Poppæa Augusta.' L. I.: 'In the tenth year' of the reign of Nero.

[f] *Antium fuit*] Now *Capo d'Anzo.* On the colony, see A. xiv, 27.

[g] *A. religionis*] Suet. Aug. 18. 'Quo Actiacæ victoriæ memoria celebratior in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit [Augustus]: ludosque illic quinquennales constituit; et, ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.'

[h] *Fort. eff.*] Of the Antian goddesses of Fortune, the Happy and the Equestrian, under whose benign influence Nero's daughter appeared to be born. The veneration of these goddesses is well known. See on A. iii, 71. and Vulp. Vetus Latium, vol. iii, p. 98. &c. who sketches the remains of their temple.

[i] *Bovillas*] The Bovillæ are already mentioned in A. ii, 41. but not with sufficient accuracy. They were on the Appian road, ten miles from Rome. There are found remains of them still, extending to the inn called l'Osteria delle Fratocchie. See Corradin. Vetus Latium, vol. ii, p. 187.

[k] *Cl. Domitiæque*] Nero was by birth of the Domitian, by adoption of the Claudian family.

perimentum. Nec recusaturum Tiridaten accipiendo diademati in Urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur.[l] Iturum ad signa et effigies Principis, ubi, legionibus coram, regnum auspicaretur.'

25. Talibus Vologesis literis, quia Pætus diversa, tamquam rebus integris, scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis advenerat, 'quo in statu Armenia esset?' 'omnes inde Romanos excessisse,' respondit. Tum intellecto barbarorum inrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, 'bellum anceps, an pax inhonesta placeret?' nec dubitatum de bello: et Corbulo, tot per annos militum atque hostium gnarus, gerendæ rei præficitur, ne cujus alterius inscitia rursum peccaretur, quia Pæti piguerat. Igitur inriti remittuntur, cum donis tamen, unde spes fieret, non frustra eadem oraturum Tiridaten, si preces ipse attulisset. Syriæque exsecutio Cestio,[m] copiæ militares Corbuloni permissæ; et quintadecima legio, ducente Mario Celso, e Pannonia adjecta est. Scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus, præfectisque et procuratoribus, et qui prætorum finitimas provincias regebant, 'jussis Corbulonis obsequi,' in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio,[n] bellum piraticum gesturo, dederat. Regressum Pætum, cum graviora metueret, facetiis insectari satis habuit Cæsar, his ferme verbis: 'Ignoscere se statim, ne tam promtus in pavorem longiore solicitudine ægresceret.'

26. At Corbulo, quarta et duodecima legionibus, quæ,

[l] *Religione attineretur*] This prince was very superstitious, and given to the magic arts.

[m] *Cestio*] In Harduin, Select. Opp. p. 22 and 636. is a coin struck two years after, IMP. NERO CAESAR. Nero has his head wreathed with laurel. On the back, ΕΠΙ ΚΕΣΤΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. ΕΤ. ΔΙΡ.: 'Under Cestius, [governor of Syria; a coin] of the Antiochians, in the year 114.'

[n] *Cn. Pomp.*] Pompey received this enormous power A.U.C. 687. The command of the fleet and the sea within the Pillars of Hercules, and even over the regions and the population of that whole tract, to fifty miles from the sea, was given to him; as also the power of choosing fifteen lieutenants to govern the provinces, of taking what money he pleased from the treasury and the commissioners of the revenue, with 200 ships; and, finally, of levying as many soldiers as he wished, and as many of the marines of the allies. See Plut. Pomp. p. 631. Dio, xxxvi, p. 18. Paterculus thus writes, ii, 31. 'Aulus Gabinius, tribunus, legem tulit, ut, cum belli more, non latrociniorum, orbem classibus jam, non furtivis expeditionibus, piratæ terrerent, quasdamque etiam Italiæ urbes diripuissent; Cneus Pompeius ad eos opprimendos mitteretur; essetque ei imperium æquum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus, usque ad quinquagesimum milliarium a mari: quo senatusconsulto pæne totius terrarum orbis imperium uni viro deferebatur.'

fortissimo quoque amisso, et ceteris exterritis, parum habiles prælio videbantur, in Syriam translatis, sextam inde ac tertiam legiones, integrum militem, et crebris ac prosperis laboribus exercitum, in Armeniam ducit: addiditque legionem quintam, quæ, per Pontum agens, expers cladis fuerat; simul quintadecimanos, recens adductos, et vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Ægypto, quodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum in unum conducta apud Melitenen,[o] qua transmittere Euphraten parabat. Tum lustratum rite[p] exercitum ad concionem vocat, orditurque magnifica 'de auspiciis Imperatoris rebusque a se gestis,' adversa 'in inscitiam Pæti' declinans: multa auctoritate, quæ viro militari pro facundia erat.

27. Mox iter, L. Lucullo[q] quondam penetratum, apertis quæ vetustas obsepserat, pergit: et venientes Tiridatis Vologesisque de pace legatos haud aspernatus, adjungit iis centuriones cum mandatis non immitibus: 'nec enim adhuc eo ventum, ut certamine extremo opus esset. Multa Romanis secunda, quædam Parthis evenisse, documento adversus superbiam: proinde et Tiridati conducere, intactum vastationibus regnum dono accipere; et Vologesen melius societate Romana, quam damnis mutuis, genti Parthorum consulturum. Scire, quantum intus discordiarum, quamque indomitas et præferoces nationes regeret: contra Imperatori suo immotam ubique pacem, et unum id bellum esse.' Simul consilio terrorem adjicere; et Megistanas Armenios,[r] qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum exscindit: plana, edita, validos invalidosque pari metu complet.

28. Non infensum, nedum hostili odio, Corbulonis no-

[o] *Melitenen*] A city of Cappadocia or Armenia Minor; now called *Malathia*. Pliny, vi, 3. mentions Melita 'a Semiramide conditam, haud procul Euphrate.' In v, 24. he had called it 'Melitenen Cappadociæ.' See Procop. de Ædific. iii, 4.

[p] *Lustr. rite*] The lustral ceremony took place, while the soldiers stood in the open plain, crowned with laurel; and, after victims had been offered to Mars, the *auspicia* were held, and the general addressed his army. Livy treats of these lustrations in i, 28. and elsewhere.

[q] *L. Lucullo*] In A.U.C. 685. he waged war in Armenia. See Plut. Lucull. p. 508. Dio, xxxv, p. 1. &c.

[r] *Meg. Arm.*] The Armenian nobles. Suidas says well, Μεγιστᾶνες, *οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως περίβλεπτοι ἐπεξούσιοι*, 'Megistanes, the king's chief ministers.' Hence, when in Jonah, iii, 7. המלך וגדליו, mention is made of the king and his nobles, the LXX. translate it *παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ*. 'Omnes illos megistanas et satrapas—oblivio alta suppressit,' Senec. Ep. xxi. They are still called by the Rabbins מגיסטים.

men etiam barbaris habebatur, eoque consilium ejus fidum credebant. Ergo Vologeses neque atrox in summam, et quibusdam præfecturis inducias petit.[s] Tiridates locum diemque colloquio poscit. Tempus propinquum, locus,[t] in quo nuper obsessæ cum Pæto legiones erant, cum a barbaris delectus esset ob memoriam lætioris sibi rei, non est a Corbulone vitatus, ut dissimilitudo fortunæ gloriam augeret. Neque infamia Pæti angebatur; quod eo maxime patuit, quia filio ejus, tribuno, ducere manipulos, atque operire reliquias malæ pugnæ[u] imperavit. Die pacta, Tiberius Alexander,[v] inlustris eques Romanus, minister bello datus,[x] et Vivianus Annius, gener Corbulonis, nondum senatoria ætate,[y] sed pro legato quintæ legioni impositus, in castra Tiridatis venere, honore ejus, ac, ne metueret insidias, tali pignore. Viceni dehinc equites adsumti: et, viso Corbulone, rex prior equo desiluit: nec cunctatus Corbulo; sed pedes uterque dextras miscuere.

29. Exin Romanus laudat juvenem,[z] 'omissis præcipitibus, tuta et salutaria capessentem.' Ille 'de nobilitate generis' multum præfatus, cetera temperanter adjungit: 'Iturum quippe Romam, laturumque novum Cæsari decus, non adversis Parthorum rebus supplicem Arsaciden.' Tum placuit Tiridaten ponere, apud effigiem Cæsaris, insigne regium, nec nisi manu Neronis resumere: et colloquium osculo finitum. Dein paucis diebus interjectis, magna utrimque specie, inde eques compositus per turmas, et insignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetere, fulgentibus aquilis, signisque et simulacris Deum in modum templi. Medio tribunal sedem curulem, et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat; ad quam progressus Tiridates,

[s] *Ind. petit*] Vologeses, by no means wishing to risk a decisive contest, seeks a treaty for some of the Armenian nobles' governments, which Corbulo had struck with dismay.

[t] *Locus*] This was at Arsamosata: ch. 10. Perhaps between Arsamosata and Rhandea: certainly Dio, lxii, p. 710. mentions Ῥάνδεια.

[u] *Reliq. m. p.*] To cover with earth the unburied corpses of those who had died in this unhappy engagement, as Grotius rightly explains it.

[v] *T. Alexander*] His father was Alexander, Alabarch of Alexandria, in rank and wealth the first in the city. He deserted his father's faith, which was that of the Jewish religion, and was procurator of Judea after Cuspius Fadus: Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xx, 5. Of 'equites illustres,' see A. ii, 59.

[x] *Minister—datus*] By Nero to Corbulo.

[y] *Senat. ætate*] Being not yet twenty-five years old.

[z] *Romanus—juvenem*] *Rom.* i. e. Corbulo. *Juv.* i. e. Tiridates.

cæsis ex more victimis, sublatum capite diadema imagini subjecit; magnis apud cunctos animorum motibus, quos augebat insita adhuc oculis exercituum Romanorum cædes aut obsidio. 'At nunc versos casus: iturum Tiridaten ostentui gentibus, quanto minus quam captivum?'[a]

30. Addidit gloriæ Corbulo comitatem epulasque; et rogitante rege causas, quotiens novum aliquid adverterat: ut, initia vigiliarum[b] per centurionem nuntiari, convivium buccina dimitti,[c] et structam ante Augurale[d] aram subdita face accendi: cuncta in majus attollens, admiratione prisci moris adfecit.[e] Postero die 'spatium' oravit, 'quo tantum itineris aditurus, fratres ante matremque viseret:' obsidem interea filiam tradit, literasque supplices ad Neronem.

31. Et digressus, Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecbatanis[f] reperit, non incuriosum fratris: quippe et propriis nuntiis a Corbulone petierat, 'ne quam imaginem servitii Tiridates perferret; neu ferrum traderet,[g] aut complexu[h] provincias obtinentium arceretur, foribusve

[a] *Quam capt.*] All but a captive.

[b] *Initia vig.*] Among the Romans the night was divided into four watches by the hour-glass; and the signal of each watch was given by the sound of the trumpet. See H. ii, 29. and Veget. iii, 8. Hence Lucan, v, 506. 'Jam castra silebant: Tertia jam vigiles commoverat hora secundos.' When the trumpet had sounded, the centurion went round his watch, and reported to the officer whether all was right.

[c] *Bucc. dimitti*] Polyb. xiv, p. 680. 'It is a custom with the Romans, for all the trumpeters and buglemen at the hour of dinner to blow their instruments near the general's tent; since that is the time when the night-watches are appointed for their several stations.' According to Polybius, the trumpeters gave their signal before dinner: but Tacitus says, that dinner was sent away by the sound of the trumpet. This difference may be explained by distinguishing the times. Formerly they dined at the twelfth hour, and then the night-watches were set: afterwards they dined at the ninth hour; and so the entertainment might then end with the sound of the trumpet.

[d] *Augurale*] For this see A. ii, 13. The altar was lighted up; whether to offer to the gods the already-tasted viands, as Lipsius thinks; or to burn all night for the guards to keep watch by, as Rutgers. thinks in his VV. LL. iii, 20. is uncertain.

[e] *Adfecit*] Affected the king, who was astonished at the novelty of the sight, and asked the causes of it.

[f] *Vol. Ecb.*] Pacorus and Vologeses were the brothers of Tiridates, as was said in ch. 14. Ecbatana, the capital of Media, was built by king Seleucus. Plin. vi, 14. or rather renewed. It is now called *Hamedan*, in the province of Irak Ajami.

[g] *Neu f. traderet*] In the presence of the Roman magistrates the sword was laid aside.

[h] *Aut complexu*] A native of the provinces, or of the inferior orders, could not embrace the lieutenants or the governors of the provinces. Hence in Spartian. Sever. 2. 'In qua [Africæ] legatione cum eum quidam municipum suorum Leptitanus, præcedentibus fascibus, ut antiquum contuber-

eorum adsisteret:[i] tantusque ei Romæ, quantus consulibus, honor esset.' Scilicet externæ superbiæ sueto, non inerat notitia nostri: apud quos vis imperii valet, inania transmittuntur.[k]

32. Eodem anno Cæsar nationes Alpium maritimarum[l] in jus Latii transtulit. Equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus plebis[m] anteposuit apud Circum: namque ad eam diem indiscreti inibant, quia lex Roscia nihil, nisi de quatuordecim ordinibus, sanxit. Spectacula gladiatorum

nalem ipse plebeius amplexus esset, fustibus eum sub elogio ejusdem præconis cecidit, 'Legatum populi Romani homo plebeius temere amplecti noli.' Ex quo factum est, ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent, qui ante pedibus ambulabant.'

[i] *Adsisteret*] The attendance at the door was long, both on account of the pride of the magistrates, and the great number of those who came to salute them: to be known to the doorkeepers was considered a great thing.

[k] *Inania transm.*] How Roman and yet how brief is this sentence: 'Non erat notitia nostri: apud quos vis imperii valet, inania transmittuntur!' Let petty kings amuse themselves with shadows: among Romans and kings of real greatness substantial power is maintained, and mere show is despised.

[l] *Alp. marit.*] The maritime Alps stretch from the sea to mount Viso: the people who inhabit them are stated by name in the trophy of Augustus, in Plin. iii, 20. CATVRIGES. BRIGIANI. SOGIONTII. BRODIONTII. NEMALONI. EDENATES. ESVBIANI. VEAMINI. GALLITÆ. TRIVLLATI. ECTINI. VERGVNNI. EGVITVRI. NEMENTVRI. ORATELLI. NERVSI. VELAVNI. SVETRI. They are believed to be what are now called *Chorges, Briançon, Digne, Embrun, Miolans, Seyne, Hubaye, Barreme, Colmars, Alloz, Anot, Vergons, Guillaumes, Entraunes, Entrevaux, Vence, Bueil, the valley of Sture.* For each people see Harduin, in his notes to Pliny, and in Bouche, Hist. de Provence, iii, 1. vol. i, p. 103. &c. But both are wrong in saying that this trophy is still extant at Secusium, now *Suze*, in Piedmont. This is widely different from that mentioned by Pliny: that is to be seen in the Cottian Alps; but this was in the Maritime Alps, where is now *the town of Torbia*, in the diocese of Nice, as we may learn from an excellent work, called *Théâtre des Etats de S. A. R. le Duc de Savoye*, vol. i, p. 72.

[m] *Sedil. pl.*] The Roscian law, introduced by L. Roscius Otho, A.U.C. 685, had given 14 rows or steps in the theatre to the Roman knights to see the spectacles: but in the Circus senators, knights, and people sat undivided from one another. At length, A.U.C. 757. in the consulate of Cinna and Messala, the senators, the knights, and the people attended the games of the circus apart from each other, as we learn from Dio, lv, p. 568. but, as particular seats were not appointed for them, Claudius assigned certain seats to the senators, as we learn from Dio, lx, p. 669. and Suet. Claud. 21. 'Circo vero maximo marmoreis carceribus, auratisque metis, quæ utraque et tophina ac lignea ante fuerant, exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis.' The knights were still not parted off, when the *euripi*, with which Cæsar the dictator had surrounded the arena, 'Nero Princeps sustulit, equiti loca addens:' Plin. viii, 7. See also Suet. Ner. 11. Under these circumstances, any senator might still see the games with the mass of the people, but in common clothes, and not in the senator's robe: Dio, lx, p. 669. This seems also to have been granted to the knights: but Domitian, 'suscepta morum correctione, licentiam theatralem promiscue in equite spectandi inhibuit,' Suet. Domit. 8.

idem annus habuit, pari magnificentia ac priora: sed fœminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per arenam fœdati sunt.[n]

33. [A.U.C. 817. J.C. 64.] C. Læcanio, M. Licinio consulibus,[o] acriore in dies cupidine adigebatur Nero promiscuas scenas frequentandi: nam adhuc per domum aut hortos cecinerat Juvenalibus ludis,[p] quos, ut parum celebres, et tantæ voci angustos, spernebat. Non tamen Romæ incipere ausus, Neapolim,[q] quasi Græcam urbem, delegit: 'Inde initium fore, ut transgressus in Achaiam, insignesque et antiquitus sacras coronas adeptus, majore fama studia civium eliceret.' Ergo contractum oppidanorum vulgus, et quos e proximis coloniis et municipiis ejus rei fama civerat, quique Cæsarem per honorem aut varios usus sectantur, etiam militum manipuli, theatrum Neapolitanorum complent.

34. Illic, plerique ut arbitrabantur, triste, ut ipse, providum potius, et secundis numinibus, evenit: nam egresso, qui adfuerat, populo, vacuum et sine ullius noxa theatrum collapsum est. Ergo, per compositos cantus, grates Diis, atque ipsam recentis casus fortunam celebrans, petiturusque maris Adriæ trajectus,[r] apud Beneventum[s] interim consedit, ubi gladiatorium munus a Vatinio celebre edebatur. Vatinius inter fœdissima ejus aulæ ostenta fuit, sutrinæ tabernæ alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus: primo in contumelias ad-

[n] *Fœdati sunt*] Disgracefully so: since not only knights, but senators also and women of high rank, descended into the arena, and fought like gladiators. This unheard-of freedom of action is strongly censured by Dio, lxi, p. 697. and particularly so by Juvenal, vi, 245. &c. viii, 194. Suetonius says in few words, Ner. 12. 'Exhibuit [Nero] ad ferrum [gladiatorium] etiam quadringentos senatores, sexcentosque equites Romanos, et quosdam fortunæ atque existimationis integræ, ex iisdem ordinibus confectores quoque ferarum, et varia arenæ ministeria.' Similar in after-time was the madness of Domitian, Suet. Domit. 4. 'Nec virorum modo pugnas, sed et fœminarum commisit.'

[o] *M. Lic. coss.*] C. Læcanius Bassus and M. Licinius Crassus were consuls A.U.C. 817. J.C. 64. In the fragment of an ancient stone in Muratori, Nov. Thes. Inscr. vol. i, p. 305. C. LAECANIO BASSO M——.

[p] *Juv. ludis*] A. xiv, 15.

[q] *Neapolim*] Built by the Chalcidians. Whence Plin. iii, 5, § 9. 'Neapolis Chalcidensium et ipsa, Parthenope a tumulo Sirenis appellata.' It is now called *Naples*, a city most famous now, as it was in the age of Paterculus, 'nobilitate et amœnitate:' Paterc. i, 4.

[r] *Adr. traj.*] Now *the Gulf of Venice.*

[s] *Beneventum*] Now *Benevento*, in the farther principality. Plin. iii, 11. 'Hirpinorum colonia una Beneventum, auspicatius mutato nomine, quæ quondam appellata Maleventum.'

sumtus; deinde optimi cujusque criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia,[t] vi nocendi etiam malos præmineret.

35. Ejus munus frequentanti Neroni ne inter voluptates quidem a sceleribus cessabatur: iisdem quippe illis diebus Torquatus Silanus mori adigitur, quia, super Juniæ familiæ claritudinem, divum Augustum abavum[u] ferebat. Jussi accusatores objicere, 'prodigum largitionibus; neque aliam spem quam in novis rebus esse: quin nec ignobiles habere,[v] quos ab epistolis, et libellis, et rationibus appellet, nomina summæ curæ et meditamenta.' Tum intimus quisque libertorum vincti abreptique: et cum damnatio instaret, brachiorum venas Torquatus intersoidit, secutaque Neronis oratio ex more: 'Quamvis sontem et defensioni merito diffisum, victurum tamen fuisse, si clementiam judicis expectasset.'

36. Nec multo post, omissa in præsens Achaia, (causæ in incerto fuere) Urbem revisit; provincias Orientis, maxime Ægyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitans. Dehinc edicto testificatus, 'non longam sui absentiam, et cuncta in republica perinde immota ac prospera fore;' super ea profectione adiit Capitolium. Illic veneratus Deos, cum Vestæ quoque templum inisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum,[x] 'cunctas sibi curas amore patriæ leviores' dictitans. 'Vidisse mœstos civium vultus, audire secretas querimonias, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, sueti adversum fortuita aspectu Principis refoveri. Ergo, ut in privatis necessitu-

[t] *Gratia, pec.*] From this insolent but monied man certain cups were called Vatinian, which had four beaks or noses. Juvenal, v, 46. 'Tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem Siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor.' Martial, xiv, 96. 'Vilia sutoris calices monumenta Vatini Accipe: sed nasus longior ille fuit.' His nose was longer than those of the cups, as he every where scented out offences and offenders.

[u] *Aug. abavum*] See St. C. 61.

[v] *Quin—habere*] He made, not ignoble men and slaves, but freedmen, his secretaries, accountants, and treasurers. This is a good expression: 'nomina summæ curæ et meditamenta,' i. e. 'certissima summæ curæ nomina, et imperii meditamenta.'

[x] *Deseruit inceptum*] Suet. Ner. 19. 'Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit, Alexandrinam et Achaicam: sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit, turbatus religione simul ac periculo: nam circuitis templis, cum in æde Vestæ resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhæsit: deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset.'

dinibus[y] proxima pignora prævalerent, ita populum Romanum vim plurimam habere; parendumque retinenti.' Hæc atque talia plebi volentia fuere,[z] voluptatum cupidine, et, quæ præcipua cura est, rei frumentariæ angustias, si abesset, metuenti. Senatus et primores in incerto erant, procul an coram atrocior haberetur: dehinc, quæ natura magnis timoribus, deterius credebant,[a] quod evenerat.

37. Ipse, quo fidem adquireret, nihil usquam perinde lætum sibi, publicis locis[b] struere convivia, totaque Urbe quasi domo uti: et celeberrimæ luxu famaque epulæ fuere, quas a Tigellino paratas, ut exemplum, referam, ne sæpius eadem prodigentia narranda sit. Igitur in stagno Agrippæ[c] fabricatus est ratem,[d] cui superpositum convivium aliarum tractu navium moveretur: naves auro et ebore distinctæ: remigesque exoleti per ætates et scientiam libidinum componebantur. Volucres et feras diversis e terris, et animalia maris Oceano abusque petiverat. Crepidinibus stagni lupanaria adstabant, inlustribus fœminis completa; et contra scorta visebantur, nudis corporibus. Jam gestus motusque obsceni; et, postquam tenebræ incedebant, quantum juxta nemoris,[e] et circumjecta

[y] *Priv. necess.*] Hence, as in the relations of private life children have influence with their parents, so have the Roman people with their prince.

[z] *Volentia fuere*] *Vol.* i.e. grata et accepta. Thus also Sallust, Fragm. Hist. iv, 9. 'Multisque suspicionibus volentia plebi facturus videbatur.' [This is imitated from the Greek.]

[a] *Deterius credebant*] The course that Nero had chosen.

[b] *Publ. locis*] Suet. Ner. 27. 'Cœnitabat nonnunquam et in publico, naumachia præclusa, vel Martio campo, vel circo maximo, inter scortorum totius Urbis ambubajarumque ministeria. Quoties Ostiam Tiberi deflueret, aut Bajanum sinum præternavigaret; dispositæ per littora et ripas diversoriæ tabernæ parabantur, insignes ganeæ et matronarum institorio copas imitantium, atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. Indicebat et familiaribus cœnas, quorum uni mitellita quadragies ns. [*Angl.* 33,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.' What then must have been the expenses of entertainments, when such was the price paid for crowns given to the guests! On the subject of these crowns brought from India or beyond it, see Plin. xxi, 3, § 8. Dio, lxii, p. 707. mentions at large this astonishing entertainment of Tigellinus.

[c] *Stagno Agrippæ*] Donatus de U.R. iii, 23. rightly conjectures that it was in the very gardens of Agrippa, and therefore near the Pantheon, and the place which is now called *Palazzo della Accademia Ecclesiastica.*

[d] *Ratem*] Not a ship, as most understand it, but a raft. Festus says well: 'Rates vocantur tigna inter se colligata, quæ per aquam aguntur.' The raft and the entertainment on it were moved forward by the drawing of other vessels. The *ratis* is illustrated by Lucan, iv, 417, &c.

[e] *Juxta nemoris*] The grove which was near the mere and gardens of Agrippa.

tecti, consonare cantu et luminibus clarescere. Ipse, per licita atque inlicita foedatus, nihil flagitii reliquerat, quo corruptior ageret; nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contaminatorum grege, cui nomen Pythagoræ[f] fuit, in modum solemnium conjugiorum denupsisset. Inditum Imperatori flammeum,[g] visi auspices, dos, et genialis torus,[h] et faces nuptiales: cuncta denique spectata, quæ etiam in fœmina nox operit.

38. Sequitur clades, forte, an dolo Principis, incertum;[i] nam utrumque auctores prodidere: sed omnibus, quæ huic Urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt, gravior atque atrocior. Initium in ea parte Circi[k] ortum, quæ Palatino Cælioque montibus contigua est: ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat, quo flamma alitur, simul cœptus ignis, et statim validus, ac vento citus, longitudinem Circi corripuit; neque enim domus munimentis septæ, vel templa muris cincta, aut quid aliud moræ interjacebat. Impetu pervagatum incendium, plana primum,[l] deinde in edita adsurgens, et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali, et obnoxia Urbe arctis itineribus, hucque et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma[m]

f *Pythagoræ*] Those horrible nuptials, by which Nero became the wife of Pythagoras, as Sporus the eunuch afterwards became Nero's, are mentioned by Dio, lxiii, p. 721. See also Suet. Ner. 28, 29. But he seems to have written *Doryphorus* for *Pythagoras*.

g *Flammeum*] A yellow veil, with which the head of the bride was covered. Plin. xxi, 8. 'Lutei [coloris] video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus flammeis totum fœminis concessum.' Lucan, ii, 361. 'Lutea demissos velarunt flammea vultus.'

h *Dos—torus*] All the ceremonies are stated by Juv. x, 333. 'Dum sedet illa parato Flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur Antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.' See Brisson, de Ritu Nupt. p. 22. &c. and Admiranda Romæ a Bartolo delineata, fol. 57. &c.

i *Dolo—incertum*] Other writers say so without hesitation, and particularly Suet. Ner. 38. 'Nec populo aut mœnibus patriæ pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi, Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί: immo, inquit, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος: planeque ita fecit: nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit Urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares, cubicularios ejus, cum stupa tædaque in prædiis suis deprehensos, non attigerint: et quædam horrea circa domum auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefactata atque inflammata sint, quod saxeo muro constructa erant.' See the same in Dio, lxii, p. 708. Sulpic. Sever. ii, 29. Oros. vii, 7.

k *Circi*] The Circus Maximus, where was the Velabrum. Hor. Serm. ii, 3, 229. 'Cum Velabro omne macellum.'

l *Plana primum*] The fire first passed along the level ground between the Circus Maximus and the Mount Palatine, and then rose among the heights of that mount.

m *Vetus Roma*] Why, after the burning by the Gauls, the city w

fuit. Ad hoc lamenta paventium fœminarum, fessa senum aut rudis pueritiæ ætas, quique sibi, quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos, aut opperiuntur, pars morans, pars festinans, cuncta impediebant: et sæpe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur: vel, si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam, quæ longinqua crediderant, in eodem casu reperiebantur. Postremo, quid vitarent, quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros: quidam amissis omnibus fortunis diurni quoque victus,[n] alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio, interiere. Nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium; et quia alii palam faces jaciebant, atque sibi esse auctorem vociferabantur: sive ut raptus licentius exercerent, seu jussu.[o]

39. Eo in tempore Nero, Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus,[p] qua palatium et Mæcenatis hortos[q] continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et palatium et domus,[r] et cuncta circum haurirentur. Sed solatium populo exturbato et profugo, campum Martis, ac monumenta Agrippæ,[s] hortos quinetiam suos,[t] patefecit; et subitaria ædificia exstruxit, quæ multitudinem inopem acciperent: subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis; pretiumque frumenti minutum, usque ad ternos nummos.[u] Quæ, quamquam popularia, in inritum cadebant, quia

built close, crooked, and ill-proportioned, we learn from Livy, v, 55. 'Antiquata lege, promiscue Urbs ædificari cœpta. Tegula publice præbita est: saxi materiæque cædendæ, unde quisque vellet, jus factum: prædibus acceptis eo anno ædificia perfecturos. Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui alienique discrimine, in vacuo ædificant. Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacæ, primo per publicum ductæ, nunc privata passim subeant tecta: formaque Urbis sit occupatæ magis, quam divisæ similis.'

[n] *Diurni—victus*] Perhaps, *diurno quoque victu.*

[o] *Seu jussu*] Huet prefers *jussi.*

[p] *Domui ejus*] Which he extended from the palace to the Esquiliæ, and called it *transitoria.* On this being burnt, he built a house of gold, of which below.

[q] *Mæcen. hortos*] In the Esquiliæ, or the Esquiline Mount, a part of which the ruins of the baths of Titus now occupy. See Piranese, Antichità Romane, vol. i, p. 28.

[r] *Domus*] Of Nero.

[s] *Monum. Agrippæ*] The baths, the gardens, the *diribitorium*, and the other buildings of Agrippa, in the ninth district of the city. The Pantheon still remains; and among many ruins, the remains of the baths, which are called *l'Arco della Ciambella.*

[t] *Hortos—suos*] In the Vatican.

[u] *Ternos—nummos*] Angl. *6d.* Rightly called 'minutum frumenti pretium:' for with truth Lucan writes, iii, 58. 'Nescit plebes jejuna timere.'

pervaserat rumor,[v] 'ipso tempore flagrantis Urbis, inisse eum domesticam scenam, et cecinisse Trojanum excidium, præsentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem.'

40. Sexto demum die,[x] apud imas Esquilias,[y] finis incendio factus, prorutis per immensum ædificiis, ut continuæ violentiæ campus, et velut vacuum cœlum occurreret. Nec dum posito metu,[z] redibat, haud levis, et rursum grassatus, ignis, patulis magis Urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra Deum, et porticus amœnitati dicatæ, latius procidere: plusque infamiæ id incendium habuit, quia prædiis Tigellini Æmilianis[a] proruperat; videbaturque Nero condendæ Urbis novæ,[b] et cognomento suo appellandæ gloriam quærere. Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur: quarum quatuor integræ manebant,[c] tres solo tenus dejectæ:[d] septem reliquis[e] pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta.

41. Domuum, et insularum,[f] et templorum, quæ amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promtum fuerit: sed vetustis-

[v] *Perv. rumor*] This is affirmed by Suet. in Ner. 38. 'Hoc incendium e turri Mæcenatiana prospectans, lætusque *flammæ*, ut aiebat, *pulchritudine*, Ἅλωσιν Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit.' He is wrongly said in Dio, lxii, p. 709. to have looked out from the top of the palace. This rumor, which Tacitus himself has reported, Reimar confidently asserts to be a fable.

[x] *Sexto—die*] Having raged for six days and nights, (Suet. Ner. 38.) the fire broke out again afterwards for three days more, as we learn by an old inscription in Gruter, p. 61, n. 3.

[y] *Imas Esquilias*] The bottom of Mons Esquilinus.

[z] *Nec—metu*] To restore this corrupted passage, I have chiefly followed Ms. Corb. and ed. pr.

[a] *Prædiis—Æm.*] The *vicus Æmilianus* was in the seventh district of the city. According to Nardin, Rom. Vet. iv, 10. it seems to have contained the house, granaries, &c. of Tigellinus. There were other Æmilian estates without the city, near the Porta Flumentana: but these are not referred to here.

[b] *Cond.—novæ*] Nearly in the same words Sulpic. Sever. ii, 29. '[Credebaturque] Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæsisse.'

[c] *Quat. int. man.*] The sixth, seventh, ninth, and fourteenth districts.

[d] *Solo—dejectæ*] The second, third, and fourth.

[e] *Sept. rel.*] The first, fifth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth.

[f] *Insularum*] The houses were inhabited by the richer, the *insulæ* by the poorer classes. Of the *insulæ*, see A. vi, 45. and Festus in 'Insulæ.' On the margin of Ms. Vatic. 1958. 'Seneca ad Paulum Apostolum. Centum triginta duæ domus, et insulæ quatuor sex diebus arserunt: septimus pausam dedit.' This is mere fiction. The absurdity of it is manifest from P. Victor, de Regionibus Urbis, Reg. II. *Insulæ* III M. CVI. *Domus* CCCXXXIII. Reg. III. *Insulæ* II *millia* DCCCVII. *Domus* CLX. Reg. IV. *Insulæ* II M. DCCLVIII. *Domus* CXXXVIII. These are the districts levelled to the ground. In the whole city, according to Victor, there were *Insulæ* XLVI *millia* DCII. *Domus mill.* DCCLXXX.

sima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunæ,[g] et Magna ara[h] fanumque,[i] quæ præsenti Herculi Arcas Evander[k] sacraverat, ædesque Statoris Jovis[l] vota Romulo, Numæque regia,[m] et delubrum Vestæ cum penatibus populi Romani, exusta. Jam opes tot victoriis quæsitæ, et Græcarum artium decora, exin monimenta ingeniorum[n] antiqua et incorrupta; quamvis in tanta resurgentis Urbis[o] pulchritudine, multa seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant. Fuere qui adnotarent, XIV. Kalendas Sextiles[p]

[g] *Lunæ*] The temple of Luna on Mons Aventinus, and in the twelfth district of the city. Victor says: 'Templum Lunæ in Aventino magnum.' What fine monuments perished in the burning of this temple, we may learn from Vitruv. v, 5. 'Auctorem habemus L. Mummium, qui, diruto theatro Corinthiorum, ejus ænea Romam deportavit, et de manubiis ad ædem Lunæ dedicavit.'

[h] *Magna ara*] Raised by Hercules for himself, in the eleventh district of the city: Solin. ii. A famous statue of him in brass was found among the ruins of the altar: in its right hand it held a club, in its left golden apples. The inscription on the base is: HERCVLI VICTORI POLLENTI POTENTI INVICTO D. D. L. M. FRONTO. Ulysses Aldrovandi, in Le Statue di Roma, p. 273. observes, that it is kept at the Conservators' house.

[i] *Fanumque*] Of Hercules Olivarus in the eleventh district of the city. Of this temple, see Varro de L. L. p. 54.

[k] *Arcas Evander*] 'Evander enim, qui venit in Palatium e Græcia, Arcas fuit,' Varro de L. L. p. 9.

[l] *St. Jovis*] In the tenth district of the city, and the foot of the Palatine Mount. Livy, i, 12. gives us the origin and name of the temple. On the flight of the Romans from the Sabines, Romulus, raising his arms to heaven, 'Jupiter, tuis, inquit, jussus avibus hic in Palatino prima urbi fundamenta jeci: arcem jam scelere emtam Sabini habent: inde huc armati, superata media valle, tendunt. At tu, pater Deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes: deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque fœdam siste: hic ego tibi templum Statori Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris, tua præsenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.'

[m] *Numæque regia*] In the slope of the Palatine Mount, near the steps of the palace, or the Augustan house, were the palace of Numa and the temple of Vesta. Of them Horace speaks, Od. i, 2, 13. 'Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore Etrusco violenter undis, Ire dejectum monumenta regis Templaque Vestæ.' In the temple of Vesta were the Palladium, the Penates, the fire, and the Vestal virgins. This temple is met with in the coins of the Æmilian family, and in its restored state in those of Vespasian. The household gods are represented on the coins of the Antian and Sulpician families. Ov. Trist. iii, 1, 27. 'Hæc sunt fora Cæsaris, inquit, Hæc est a Sacris quæ via nomen habet. Hic locus est Vestæ, qui Pallada servat et ignem: Hæc fuit antiqui regia parva Numæ. Inde petens dextram, Porta est, ait, ista Palati. Hic Stator: hoc primum condita Roma loco est.'

[n] *Monim. ingen.*] The books and writings of the ancients.

[o] *Resurg. Urbis*] On the coins of Vespasian and subsequent emperors sometimes is found ROMA RESVRGENS.

[p] XIV. *Kal. Sext.*] The 19th of July: and this is well confirmed by Livy, vi, 1. for he testifies that the battle at Allia took place 'XV. Kalendas Sextiles:' and in v, 41. he says that the victorious Gauls entered the city the next day: nor does he differ from Verrius Flaccus mentioned by Gellius, v, 17. Tacitus then is not to be convicted of error, as some sup-

principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam Urbem inflammaverant. Alii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies[q] inter utraque incendia numerent.

42. Ceterum Nero usus est patriæ ruinis,[r] exstruxitque domum,[s] in qua haud perinde gemmæ et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem, et luxu vulgata, quam arva et stagna, et in modum solitudinum hinc sylvæ, inde aperta spatia et prospectus: magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat, etiam quæ natura denegavisset, per artem tentare, et viribus Principis inludere. Namque 'ab lacu Averno[t] navigabilem fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros,' promiserant, squalenti littore, aut per montes adversos: neque enim aliud humidum gignendis aquis occurrit, quam Pomptinæ paludes:[u] cetera abrupta aut arentia; ac si perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor, nec satis causæ. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor,[v] effodere proxima Averno juga connixus est: manentque vestigia inritæ spei.[x]

pose, who think that these events took place, not on the XIV. but on the XV. Kal. Sextil.

[q] *Totidem—dies*] Men of minute curiosity calculated the number of years, months, and days, from the foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the Gauls; and from that calamity to the present they found the interval of time precisely the same.

[r] *Usus—ruinis*] Just so: for, according to Suet. Ner. 38. 'Ne non hinc quoque quantum posset prædæ et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit: collationibusque non receptis modo, verum et efflagitatis, provincias privatorumque census prope exhausit.' Orosius says, vii, 7. 'Centies centena millia sestertium [*Angl.* 83,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] annua ad expensas a senatu sibi conferri imperavit.'

[s] *Exstr. domum*] Nero 'ejusmodi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare cœpisse.' Suet. Ner. 31.

[t] *Lacu Averno*] Now *Lago Averno*, near Baiæ, in the bay of Puteoli. See H. i, 86.

[u] *Pompt. palud.*] Now *Paludi Pontine*, in the Roman territory. Of these, Plin. thus writes, iii, 5, § 9. 'Aliud miraculum: a Circeiis palus Pomptina est, quem locum XXXIII. urbium fuisse Mutianus ter consul prodidit.'

[v] *Incredibilium cupitor*] Most truly so; since he had commenced 'piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum, contectam, porticibus conclusam, quo quicquid totis Baiis calidarum esset, converteretur. Fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus, nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis, per centum sexaginta millia; latitudinis, qua contrariæ quinqueremes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia, quod ubique esset custodiæ in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos, non nisi ad opus damnari, præceperat.'

[x] *Vest.—spei*] And unhappy ones too: for, as we learn from Pliny, xiv, 6. 'Antea Cæcubo [vino] erat generositas celeberrima in palustribus populetis, sinu Amyclano: quod jam intercidit, et incuria coloni, locique angustia: magis tamen fossa Neronis, quam a Baiano lacu Ostiam usque navigabilem inchoaverat.'

43. Ceterum, Urbis quæ domui supererant,[y] non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione, nec passim erecta; sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis, cohibitaque ædificiorum altitudine,[z] ac patefactis areis, additisque porticibus,[a] quæ frontem insularum protegerent. 'Eas porticus' Nero 'sua pecunia exstructurum, purgatasque areas dominis traditurum,' pollicitus est. Addidit præmia pro cujusque ordine, et rei familiaris copiis: finivitque tempus,[b] intra quod, effectis domibus aut insulis, adipiscerentur. 'Ruderi accipiendo[c] Ostienses paludes' destinabat, 'utique naves, quæ frumentum Tiberi subvectassent, onustæ rudere decurrerent: ædificiaque ipsa, certa sui parte, sine trabibus, saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur,[d] quod is lapis ignibus impervius est. Jam aqua, privatorum licentia intercepta,[e] quo largior, et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes; et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione parietum, sed propriis quæque

[y] *Domui sup.*] The ground of the city, which still remained after the golden house had been built, or at least marked out.

[z] *Cohib.—altit.*] What the height was that was prescribed by Nero, is uncertain: all that we learn from Strabo, v, p. 255. is, that Augustus, to guard against the frequent fall of houses from their being too high, decreed that no new building erected by the public road should exceed seventy feet in height. But Trajan decreed 'ne domorum altitudo sexaginta superaret pedes, ob ruinas faciles, et sumtus, siquando talia contingerent, exitiosos,' Aurel. Vict. in Epit. xiii. Hence Nero seems to have placed the limit of the height of houses between sixty and seventy feet. See Brisson, Select. ex Jur. Civ. Antiq. i, 1.

[a] *Additisque porticibus*] Suet. Ner. 16. 'Formam ædificiorum Urbis novam excogitavit, et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumtu suo exstruxit. Destinarat etiam Ostia tenus mœnia promovere, atque inde fossa mare veteri Urbi inducere.'

[b] *Fin. tempus*] Within which they who should have finished houses should receive rewards.

[c] *Rud. accip.*] For receiving the rubbish of the houses, as well those that were burnt, as those which were recently built, with the view of filling up the marshes. These marshes are still seen in the Ostian road, a little above the Ostian lake.

[d] *Saxo — solidarentur*] Arched by stone from Alba or Gabii. Besides the proximity of these quarries to Rome, the stone fetched from them was soft, and resisted fire: on the contrary, the harder stone of Tivoli cracked and flew off in fragments on the approach of fire. Vitruv. ii, 7. Strab. v, p. 238.

[e] *Lic. interc.*] Nero decreed that the water, which had been intercepted by individuals at their will, should be left to the care of superintendents, in order that a larger quantity, and in more directions, should flow into the public reservoir; so that every one would have in the vestibules of their houses the means of quenching fires. Of the slaves, the keepers of the water, who are called in the Inscriptions AQVARII, see Pet. Burm. Diss. de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. xii, p. 241, 242.

muris 'ambirentur.'[f] Ea, ex utilitate accepta, decorem quoque novæ Urbi attulere. Erant tamen qui crederent, 'veterem illam formam salubritati[g] magis conduxisse, quoniam angustiæ itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur: at nunc patulam latitudinem, et nulla umbra defensam, graviore æstu ardescere.'

44. Et hæc quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. Mox petita Diis piacula,[h] aditique Sibyllæ libri, ex quibus supplicatum Vulcano et Cereri Proserpinæque, ac propitiata Juno per matronas, primum in Capitolio, deinde apud proximum mare;[i] unde hausta aqua, templum et simulacrum Deæ prospersum est; et sellisternia[k] ac pervigilia celebravere fœminæ, quibus mariti erant. Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut Deum placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis adfecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus CHRISTUS, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pon-

[f] *Ambirentur*] By taking away the communication between houses, there was less danger of fire; and the houses were more compact, which were surrounded by their own insulated walls. Formerly, by the law of the XII. Tables, a space was left open between houses of two feet and a half wide, to give a greater facility of passing: AMBITVS PARIETVM SESTERTIVS PES ESTO. See Brisson, Select. ex Jure Civ. Antiq. i, 2. In so large and populous a city this law had long ceased to be observed.

[g] *Salubr.*] It is clear from medical experience to this day, that at Rome there are more sick persons in the summer in the road of the new suburbs, which is wider, than in the narrower road of the old suburbs. See Manelph. Eretan. Mensa Rom. p. 4. The fact is, an open space, unshaded by trees, is more exposed to the sun's heat.

[h] *Pet. Diis piac.*] To appease the gods. On the books of the Sibyl, see on A. vi, 12.

[i] *Prox. mare*] And at Ostia.

[k] *Sellisternia*] That couches were put for the gods, and chairs for the goddesses, is clear from Val. Max. ii, 1, n. 2. 'Fœminæ cum viris cubantibus sedentes cœnitabant; quæ consuetudo ex hominum convictu ad divina penetravit; nam Jovis epulo ipse in lectulum, Juno et Minerva in sellas ad cœnam invitantur. Quod genus severitatis ætas nostra diligentius in Capitolio quam in suis domibus servat; videlicet quia magis ad rem pertinet Dearum quam mulierum disciplina contineri.' The origin of it is stated by Liv. v, 13. for in an incurable pestilence in the summer, 'quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatusconsulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio tum primum in Urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem, Latonamque et Dianam, Herculem, Mercurium atque Neptunum, tribus, quam amplissime tum apparari poterat, stratis lectis placavere.' Other special 'lectisternia' see in Liv. xxi, 62. xxii, 10. The midnight vigils, the full attendance on them, and their subsequent criminality, are well known.

tium Pilatum supplicio adfectus [l] erat: repressaque in præsens [m] exitiabilis superstitio [n] rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti [o] sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis

[l] *Suppl. adf.*] Nor do we Christians blush for this. [For Christ was punished indeed, but not for his own offences.]

[m] *Repr. in præs.*] Διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης. D. Luc. Act. Ap. xviii, 2. The Christians also, most of whom had been Jews, were obliged to retire from Rome; and so are said to be 'for the present repressed.' Yet we are not to suppose, as Lipsius and other learned men have done, that the Christians are meant under the name of Jews by Arrian, in Epictet. ii, 9. for there, as in i, 22. the Jews themselves are meant. The same is the error of such as refer to Christ and to the Christians the words of Suet. Claud. 25. 'Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit.' This was not Jesus Christ, but some Jew of the name of Chrestus, a name not uncommon among the Greeks and Romans. Suetonius too is erroneously thought to have made a mistake; as if he said that Jesus Christ had lived, and had produced confusion in the reign of Claudius. There is another mistake which learned men have made, in confounding what Dio, lx, p. 669. has said of the Jews, with the narrative of St. Luke and of Suetonius: for nine years intervened between the prohibition of the Jewish synagogues, and the expulsion of the Jews by Claudius.

[n] *Exitiabilis superstitio*] Superstition indeed! The whole, according to Pliny, Ep. x, 97. 'vel culpæ, vel erroris, quod [Christiani] essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem: seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram.' Is this an 'exitiabilis superstitio,' to bind themselves, not to commit wickedness, but to be virtuous? Justly then does Tertullian boast, in writing to Scapula, iv. 'Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro justitia, pro pudicitia, pro fide, pro veritate, pro Deo vivo cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot majestatis rei pati solent.—Crudelitas vestra gloria est nostra.' [See also Paley's Evidences of Christianity, a work which should be in every Christian's hands, and in which this passage of Tacitus is admirably treated.]

[o] *Odio convicti*] First those were seized, who avowed themselves Christians; and then by their confession a great multitude of Christians were laid hold of: and all were convicted, not of the charge of being incendiaries, of which crime they were guiltless; but of professing a misanthropic religion: and for this great crime they were hated! Thus did the Romans attack a religion, of which it is a remarkable, but a divine saying, Εἴτις ἔρχεται πρός με, καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τὰ τέκνα, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, οὐ δύναταί μου μαθητὴς εἶναι. D. Luc. xiv, 26.

contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos[p] ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi, vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur.

45. Interea conferendis pecuniis[q] pervastata Italia, provinciæ eversæ, sociique populi, et quæ civitatum liberæ vocantur: inque eam prædam etiam Dii cessere, spoliatis in Urbe templis, egestoque auro, quod triumphis, quod votis,[r] omnis populi Romani ætas prospere, aut in metu, sacraverat. Enimvero per Asiam atque Achaiam non dona tantum, sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur,[s]

[p] *Hortos suos*] In the Mons Vaticanus. There the blood of the Christians was shed; and there has since shone and still shines the fullest splendor of the Christian faith. [Of the latter part of this observation we may be at least allowed to express a doubt. Brotier was attached to the doctrines of the Vatican.]

[q] *Conf. pecun.*] For the building of the house of gold, and the new city. To this refers what we read in Suet. Ner. 32. 'Nulli delegavit officium, ut non adjiceret: —Scis quid mihi opus sit; et, Hoc agamus, ne quis quidquam habeat. Ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit, simulacraque ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit: in his Penatium Deorum, quæ mox Galba restituit.'

[r] *Triumphis—votis*] For good or ill fortune offerings of gold were made to the gods. Their number and magnitude may be estimated from Augustus's account of himself in the Ancyran inscription in Chishull, Antiq. Asiatic. p. 175. *Meæ* STATVAE. PEDESTRES. ET. EQVESTRES. ET. IN. QVADRIGEIS. ARGENTEAE. STETERVNT. IN. VRBE. XXC. CIRCITER. QVAS. IPSE. SVSTVLI. EXQVE. EA. PECVNIA. DONA. AVREA. IN. AEDE. APOLLINIS. MEO. NOMINE. ET. ILLORVM. QVI. MIHI. STATVARVM. HONOREM. HABVERVNT. POSVI. I will cite also Suet. Aug. 30. 'Ædes sacras vetustate collapsas, aut incendio absumtas, refecit; easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit: utpote qui in cellam Capitolini Jovis sedecim millia pondo auri, [*Angl.* 810,000*l.*] gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sestertium, [*Angl.* 416,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] una donatione contulerit.' Petronius also writes, Sat. vol. i, p. 356. 'Ipse senatus, recti bonique præceptor, mille pondo auri Capitolio promittere solet:' that is, 45,000*l.* What vows were made in public and in private, on account of wars, diseases, or bad fortune, we may easily imagine.

[s] *Simulacra—abrip.*] Nor of gods only, but of men also. Among the various crimes of Nero, Pausanias, x, 7, p. 813. in Phocic. numbers the abstraction of 500 brazen statues, partly of the gods and partly of men, from the Delphic temple of Apollo. The number then must have been great, which he took from the Olympian and Pergamenian temples, from the citadel of Athens, and from the whole of Achaia and Asia; since Acratus, as we learn from Chrysostom, Orat. xxxi, p. 355, passed through every village, and left untouched only the statues of the Rhodians: 'Ye know,' says he, 'how many statues Acratus only sent to Nero, traversing for this purpose almost the whole world, and leaving out no village, and at length came to Rhodes. In order to dispel

missis in eas provincias Acrato ac Secundo Carinate.[t] Ille libertus, cuicumque flagitio promtus: hic, Græca doctrina ore tenus exercitus, animum bonis artibus non induerat. Ferebatur 'Seneca, quo invidiam sacrilegii a semet averteret, longinqui ruris secessum oravisse; et postquam non concedebatur, ficta valetudine, quasi æger nervis, cubiculum non egressus.' Tradidere quidam, 'venenum ei per libertum ipsius, cui nomen Cleonicus, paratum jussu Neronis; vitatumque a Seneca proditione liberti, seu propria formidine, dum persimplici victu,[u] et agrestibus pomis, ac, si sitis admoneret, profluente aqua, vitam tolerat.'

46. Per idem tempus gladiatores, apud oppidum Præneste,[v] tentata eruptione,[x] præsidio militis, qui custos adesset, coerciti sunt: jam 'Spartacum[y] et vetera mala' rumoribus ferente populo, ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque. Nec multo post clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello; quippe haud alias tam immota pax: sed certum ad diem in Campaniam redire classem Nero jusserat, non exceptis maris casibus. Ergo gubernatores, quamvis sæviente pelago, a Formiis[z] movere; et gravi Africo,[a] dum promontorium Miseni[b] superare contendunt, Cumanis littoribus[c] impacti, triremium plerasque, et minora navigia passim amiserunt.

47. Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, imminentium malorum nuntia. Vis fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus

your apprehensions, he told you that he came merely to view the place, and that he had no power of touching any thing there.' Pliny, xxxiv, 8, n. 24, tells us that these miracles of art, 'violentia Neronis in Urbem convecta,' were 'in sellariis domus aureæ disposita.'

[t] *Sec. Carinate*] Carinas, formerly a rhetorician, but a poor pitiful fellow, and banished by Caius for a speech against tyrants: whence Juv. vii, 203. 'Pœnituit multos vanæ sterilisque cathedræ, Sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus, atque Secundi Carinatis.' See also Dio, lix, p. 656.

[u] *Persimpl. victu*] Hear Seneca himself, Ep. lxxxiii. 'Panis deinde siccus, et sine mensa prandium: post quod non sunt lavandæ manus.' For Seneca's frugality, see his 108th Epistle.

[v] *Præneste*] Now *Palestrina*, in the Roman territory.

[x] *Tent. erupt.*] In order to fly: for gladiators had a wretched lot, 'Uri virgis ferroque necari.'

[y] *Jam Spart.*] Spartacus a gladiator raised the servile war A.U.C. 681. See Flor. iii, 20. and Plut. Crass. p. 547. &c.

[z] *A Formiis*] Formiæ is a town of the Aurunci; now *Mola*, in Terra di Lavoro.

[a] *Africo*] The south-west wind.

[b] *Prom. Miseni*] Now *Capo di Miseno*.

[c] *Cumanis littoribus*] Between Capo di Miseno and Monte Riscello. These shores are famous for the cave of the Cuman sibyl.

cometes, sanguine inlustri semper Neroni expiatum.[d] Bicipites hominum aliorumve animalium partus abjecti in publicum, aut in sacrificiis, quibus gravidas hostias immolare mos est, reperti: et in agro Placentino,[e] viam propter, natus vitulus, cui caput in crure esset: secutaque haruspicum interpretatio: 'parari rerum humanarum aliud caput: sed non fore validum, neque occultum; quia non in utero repressum,[f] at iter juxta editum sit.'

48. [A.U.C. 818. J.C. 65.] Ineunt deinde consulatum[g] Silius Nerva et Atticus Vestinus, cœpta simul et aucta conjuratione, in quam certatim nomina dederant, senatores, eques, miles, fœminæ etiam, cum odio Neronis, tum favore in C. Pisonem.[h] Is Calpurnio genere ortus, ac multas insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus, claro apud vulgum rumore erat, per virtutem, aut species virtutibus similes: namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem adversus amicos; et ignotis quoque comi sermone et congressu. Aderant etiam fortuita, corpus

[d] *Semper—exp.*] Grotius rejected *semper*; a comet being no daily appearance. Bentley retains *semper*, but rejects *Neroni*. That nothing should be rejected, we may gather from Pliny, ii, 25. '[Cometes] terrificum magna ex parte sidus, ac non leviter piatum, ut civili motu, Octavio consule; iterumque Pompeii et Cæsaris bello. In nostro vero ævo circa veneficium, quo Claudius imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni: ac deinde principatu ejus assiduum prope ac sævum.' We saw in Ann. xiv, 22. that a comet was expiated by the blood of Rubellius Plautus. These cruel expiations were taught Nero by Babilus, an astrologer. Suet. Ner. 36. 'Stella crinita, quæ summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri cœperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Babilo astrologo didicit, solere reges talia ostenta cæde aliqua illustri expiare, atque a semet in capita procerum depellere; nobilissimo cuique exitium destinavit.' This Babilus, a vain and fierce character, is a different person from C. Balbillus, Ann. xiii, 22.

[e] *Agro Plac.*] *The duchy of Piacenza.*

[f] *Non—repressum*] This is the indubitably true correction of Muretus.

[g] *Consulatum*] A. Licin. Nerva Silanus and M. Vestinus Atticus entered on the consulate A.U.C. 818. J.C. 65.

[h] *C. Pisonem*] His conspiracy is mentioned also by Suet. Ner. 36. Dio, lxii, p. 713. states it obscurely, as his history is here mutilated. I shall quote a fragment about Piso from the Scholiast on Juv. v, 109. 'Piso Calpurnius, antiqua familia, scenico habitu tragœdias actitavit: in latrunculatorum lusu tam perfectus et callidus, ut ad eum latentem curreretur. Ob hæc insinuatus C. Cæsari, repetente (forte *repente*) etiam relegatus est, quod consuetudinem pristinæ uxoris, abductæ sibi ab ipso, deinde remissæ, repetiisse existimabatur. Mox sub Claudio restitutus, et post consulatum materna hæreditate ditatus, magnificentissimus vixit, meritis sublevare inopes ex utroque ordine solitus; de plebe autem certos quotannis ad equestrem censum dignitatemque provehere.' Hence Juv. l.c. 'Nemo petit, modicis quæ mittebantur amicis A Seneca, quæ Piso bonus, quæ Cotta solebat Largiri.'

procerum, decora facies: sed procul gravitas morum, aut voluptatum parcimonia: lenitati ac magnificentiæ, et aliquando luxui indulgebat. Idque pluribus probabatur, qui, in tanta vitiorum dulcedine, summum imperium non restrictum nec perseverum volunt.

49. Initium conjurationis non a cupidine ipsius fuit; nec tamen facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor, cujus instinctu concitum sit, quod tam multi sumserunt. Promtissimos Subrium Flavium,[i] tribunum prætoriæ cohortis, et Sulpicium Asprum, centurionem, extitisse, constantia exitus docuit: et Lucanus Annæus, Plautiusque Lateranus, consul designatus, vivida odia intulere. Lucanum[k] propriæ causæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione.[l] Lateranum, consulem designatum, nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit. At Flavius Scevinus et Afranius Quintianus, uterque senatorii ordinis, contra famam sui, principium tanti facinoris capessivere: nam Scevino dissoluta luxu mens, et proinde vita somno languida: Quintianus mollitia corporis infamis, et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus, contumelias ultum ibat.

50. Ergo, dum 'scelera Principis, et finem adesse imperii, deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret,' inter se aut inter amicos jaciunt, aggregavere Tullium Senecionem, Cervarium Proculum, Vulcatium Araricum, Julium Tugurinum, Munatium Gratum, Antonium Natalem, Martium Festum, equites Romanos: ex quibus Senecio,[m] e

[i] *Subrium Flavium*] Dio, lxii, p. 713. Σούβιος Φλάβιος——Σουλπίκιος Ἄπρος· 'Subius Flavius——Sulpicius Aper.'

[k] *Lucanum*] Spain has not produced a more noble poet than Lucan: too turgid indeed, but eminent for the dignity of his subject, the loftiness of his mind, the majesty of his sentiments, and the gravity of his diction.

[l] *Vanus adsimulatione*] Of Lucan, who kept his verses in the background, as if yielding the palm to Nero: but posterity has vindicated his genius, as was rightly prophesied by Stat. Silv. ii, Carm. ult. Genethliacon Lucani, vs. 58. 'Ingratus Nero dulcibus theatris, Et noster tibi præferetur Orpheus. Dices culminibus Remi vagantis Infandos domini nocentis ignes. Tu castæ titulum, decusque Pollæ Jucunda dabis adlocutione: Mox cœpta generosior juventa Albos ossibus Italis Philippos, Et Pharsalica bella detonabis, Et fulmen ducis inter arma divi, Libertate gravem pia Catonem, Et gratum popularitate Magnum. Tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi Deflebis pius, et Pharo cruenta Pompeio dabis altius sepulcrum. Hæc primo juvenis canes sub ævo, Ante annos Culicis Maroniani. Cedet Musa rudis ferocis Enni, Et docti furor arduus Lucreti, Et qui per freta duxit Argonautas, Et qui corpora prima transfigurat. Quin majus loquor? ipsa te Latinis Æneis venerabitur canentem.'

[m] *Senecio*] That Claudius Senecio, of whom in A. xiii, 12. (if there is no

præcipua familiaritate Neronis, speciem amicitiæ etiam tum retinens, eo pluribus periculis conflictabatur. Natalis[n] particeps ad omne secretum Pisoni erat: ceteris spes ex novis rebus petebatur. Adscitæ sunt, super Subrium et Sulpicium, de quibus retuli, militares manus, Granius Silvanus et Statius Proximus, tribuni cohortium prætoriarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus, centuriones. Sed summum robur in Fenio Rufo, præfecto,[o] videbatur; quem vita famaque laudatum, per sævitiam impudicitiamque Tigellinus in animo Principis anteibat, fatigabatque criminationibus, ac sæpe in metum adduxerat, quasi 'adulterum Agrippinæ,[p] et desiderio ejus ultioni intentum.' Igitur ubi conjuratis, præfectum quoque prætorii in partes descendisse, crebro ipsius sermone facta fides; promtius jam de tempore ac loco cædis agitabant: et 'cepisse impetum' Subrius Flavius ferebatur, 'in scena canentem Neronem aggrediendi; aut cum, ardente domo,[q] per noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus.' Hic occasio solitudinis; ibi ipsa frequentia, tanti decoris testis, pulcherrimum animum[r] exstimulaverant: nisi impunitatis cupido retinuisset, magnis semper conatibus adversa.

51. Interim cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metum, Epicharis quædam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata, (neque illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat) accendere et arguere conjuratos: ac postremo lentitudinis eorum pertæsa, et in Campania agens, primores classiariorum Misenensium[s] labefacere, et conscientia inligare connixa est tali initio. Erat chiliarchus[t] in ea classe Volusius Proculus, occidendæ matris Neronis inter ministros, non ex magnitudine sceleris provectus, ut rebatur. Is mulieri cognitus, seu recens orta amicitia, dum 'merita erga Neronem sua, et quam in inritum cecidissent,' aperit,

mistake of the transcribers in the prænomen) is a different person.

[n] *Natalis*] I know not whether this is the same Natalis, very rich and very impure, of whom Seneca writes, Ep. lxxxvii.

[o] *Præfecto*] sc. 'prætorii.' A. xiv, 51.

[p] *Agrippinæ*] Nero's mother, killed by her son.

[q] *Ard. domo*] They had meant to throw fire into Nero's house, to murder him the easier in the confusion.

[r] *Pulch. animum*] How much more reasonable is our opinion that the majesty of princes is sacred and inviolate! This doctrine is proved by religion and by reason. St. Paul had already taught it in the Epistle to the Romans, xiii, 1—7. [See Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, book vi, ch. 4.]

[s] *Class. Misen.*] Of this fleet we have spoken before in A. iv, 5.

[t] *Chiliarchus*] Who is at the head of 1000 soldiers.

adjicitque questus, et 'destinationem vindictæ, si facultas oriretur,' spem dedit posse impelli et plures conciliare: 'nec leve auxilium in classe, crebras occasiones;'[w] quia Nero multo apud Puteolos et Misenum maris usu lætabatur. Ergo Epicharis plura: et omnia scelera Principis orditur: 'Neque senatui quid manere,[x] sed provisum quonam modo pœnas eversæ reipublicæ daret: accingeretur modo navare operam, et militum acerrimos ducere in partes, ac digna pretia expectaret.' Nomina tamen conjuratorum reticuit: unde Proculi indicium irritum fuit, quamvis ea, quæ audierat, ad Neronem detulisset. Accita quippe Epicharis, et cum indice composita, nullis testibus innixum facile confutavit: sed ipsa in custodia retenta est, suspectante Nerone, haud falsa esse, etiam quæ vera non probabantur.

52. Conjuratis tamen metu proditionis permotis, placitum maturare cædem apud Baias, in villa Pisonis; cujus amœnitate captus Cæsar crebro ventitabat,[x] balneasque et epulas inibat, omissis excubiis, et fortunæ suæ mole.[y] Sed abnuit Piso, 'invidiam' prætendens, 'si sacra mensæ Diique hospitales cæde qualiscumque Principis cruentarentur: melius apud Urbem, in illa invisa et spoliis civium exstructa domo, vel in publico patraturos, quod pro republica suscepissent.' Hæc in commune: ceterum timore occulto, ne L. Silanus,[z] eximia nobilitate, disciplinaque C. Cassii,[a] apud quem educatus erat, ad omnem claritudinem sublatus, imperium invaderet, promte daturis operam, qui a conjuratione integri essent, quique miserarentur Neronem, tamquam per scelus interfectum. Plerique 'Vestini quoque consulis acre ingenium vitavisse Pisonem' crediderunt, 'ne ad libertatem moveretur, vel delecto Imperatore alio, sui muneris rempublicam faceret:'[b] etenim expers conjura-

[w] *Crebr. occ.*] That there would not be a small aid afforded by the Misenian fleet, and that the opportunities of effecting their purpose would be frequent.

[x] *Neque sen. quid man.*] *Quid*, i.e. any good faith towards Nero. *Provisum*, i.e. by the senate.

[x] *Creb. vent.*] This reading is altered; but it may stand.

[y] *Fort. suæ m.*] This is well said: for guards are equally the 'præsidium' and the 'moles' of fortune. [Murphy: 'Divested of his guards, and unencumbered by the parade of state.']

[z] *L. Silanus*] The son of M. Junius Silanus, the fourth grandson of Augustus. St. C. 59.

[a] *C. Cassii*] Husband of Lepida, aunt of L. Silanus. St. C. 64, 65. L. Silanus, on the murder of his father M. Junius Silanus, had been brought up in the house of C. Cassius.

[b] *Sui—faceret*] Lest he should be moved to restore liberty; or, if he should elect an emperor, he might

tionis erat; quamvis super eo crimine Nero vetus adversus insontem odium expleverit.

53. Tandem statuere, Circensium ludorum die,[e] qui Cereri celebratur, exsequi destinata: quia Cæsar, rarus egressu, domoque aut hortis clausus, ad ludicra Circi ventitabat; promtioresque aditus erant lætitia spectaculi. Ordinem insidiis composuerant, 'ut Lateranus, quasi subsidium rei familiari oraret, deprecabundus, et genibus Principis accidens, prosterneret incautum premeretque, animi validus, et corpore ingens: tum jacentem et impeditum, tribuni et centuriones, et ceterorum, ut quisque audentiæ habuisset, accurrerent, trucidarentque:' primas sibi partes expostulante Scevino, qui pugionem, templo Salutis[d] in Etruria, sive, ut alii tradidere, Fortunæ Ferentino in oppido,[e] detraxerat, gestabatque velut magno operi sacrum. 'Interim Piso apud ædem Cereris[f] opperiretur, unde eum præfectus Fenius et ceteri accitum ferrent in castra,[g] comitante Antonia,[h] Claudii Cæsaris filia, ad eliciendum vulgi favorem:' quod C. Plinius[i] memorat. Nobis quoquo modo traditum non occultare in animo fuit; quamvis absurdum videretur, aut inanem ad spem Antoniam nomen et periculum commodavisse; aut Pisonem, notum amore uxoris, alii matrimonio[k] se obstrinxisse: nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior est.[l]

54. Sed mirum, quam inter diversi generis, ordinis,

have the state at his disposal, and elect a person, who he knew would be the more indebted to him for such an appointment.

[e] *Circensium—die*] The day before the Ides, or the 12th of April, was the commencement of the Ludi Cerealici. In an ancient calendar: PRID. ID. APRIL. LUDI CEREALICI. The games were celebrated eight days. I imagine the eighth day, or April 19, was the day fixed on by the conspirators: for so the same calendar: XIII. KAL. MAII. CEREALICI. On the same day, in the register of Polemæus Silvius, CIRCENSES. CONSULIS TERTIÆ MAPPÆ.

[d] *Templo Salutis*] In what town of Etruria this temple was, is unknown. Perhaps the words *in Etruria* ought to be rejected.

[e] *Ferent. in opp.*] Ferentinum, a city of Etruria; now *Frenti.*

[f] *Ædem Cer.*] In the 11th district of the city, not far from the Circus Maximus.

[g] *In castra*] Into the prætorium, where was the camp of the prætorian cohorts.

[h] *Antonia*] Daughter of Claudius and Ælia Petina. St. C. 105.

[i] *C. Plinius*] Already mentioned, A. xiii, 20.

[k] *Matrimonio*] Of Antonia, on the repudiation of his former wife.

[l] *Flagr. est*] Hence Polynices, mad with ambition, and in an impious mood, says in Sen. Theb. iv, 662. 'Pro regno velim Patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare. Imperia pretio quolibet constant bene.'

ætatis, sexus, dites, pauperes, taciturnitate omnia cohibita sint; donec proditio cœpit a domo Scevini, qui pridie insidiarum, multo sermone cum Antonio Natale, dein regressus domum, testamentum obsignavit; promtum vagina pugionem, de quo supra retuli, 'vetustate obtusum' increpans, 'asperari saxo, et in mucronem ardescere' jussit; eamque curam liberto Milicho[m] mandavit. Simul adfluentius solito convivium initum: servorum carissimi libertate, et alii pecunia donati: atque ipse mœstus, et magnæ cogitationis manifestus[n] erat, quamvis lætitiam vagis sermonibus simularet. Postremo 'vulneribus ligamenta, quibusque sistitur sanguis, parare' eumdem Milichum monet; sive gnarum conjurationis, et illuc usque fidum; seu nescium, et tunc primum arreptis suspicionibus, ut plerique tradidere, de consequentibus.[o] Nam cum secum servilis animus præmia perfidiæ reputavit, simulque immensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas, et salus patroni, et acceptæ libertatis memoria: etenim uxoris quoque consilium adsumserat, muliebre ac deterius: quippe ultro metum intentabat, 'multosque adstitisse libertos ac servos, qui eadem viderint: nihil profuturum unius silentium: at præmia penes unum fore, qui indicio prævenisset.'

55. Igitur, cœpta luce, Milichus in hortos Servilianos[p] pergit; et, cum foribus arceretur, 'magna et atrocia adferre' dictitans, deductusque ab janitoribus ad libertum Neronis, Epaphroditum,[q] mox ab eo ad Neronem, urgens periculum, graves conjurationes, et cetera, quæ audierat conjectaveratque, docet: telum quoque in necem ejus paratum ostendit, accirique reum jussit. Is, raptus per

[m] *Lib. Milicho*] In the gardens of Versailles is an admirable statue of Milichus. The ingenuity of the little duke of Burgundy in detecting a fault in it, a little overdoing of his part in the person of Milichus, ('cum Milichus in statua paulo curiosior videbatur,') has been eloquently recorded.

[n] *Magnæ—manifestus*] With truth says Seneca, Declam. ii, 5. 'Non bene tegit vultus magna consilia.'

[o] *De conseq.*] Of the consequences of these orders. Ernesti thinks that the words are to be understood thus: 'ut plerique de scriptoribus consequentibus tradidere.' But this sense I do not approve. The passage is well translated by Davanzati, *ò come alcuni scrivono da quelli andamenti ne sospicò.*

[p] *Hort. Serv.*] The place of these gardens is told us by no ancient writer. Donatus however, de U. R. iii, 23. thinks that they were in the ninth district of the city, not far from the Pons Janiculensis, now *Ponte Sisto.* They were perhaps so called from M. Servilius: A. xiv, 19.

[q] *Epaphr.*] He was master of requests to Nero: he was, however, less celebrated for his situation than for his slave Epictetus, the chief of the Stoics. How much better was the slave than his master!

milites, et defensionem orsus, 'Ferrum, cujus argueretur, olim religione patria cultum, et in cubiculo habitum, ac fraude liberti subreptum,' respondit. 'Tabulas testamenti sæpius a se, et incustodita dierum observatione, signatas: pecunias et libertates servis et ante dono datas; sed ideo tunc largius, quia tenui jam re familiari, et instantibus creditoribus, testamento diffideret: enimvero liberales semper epulas struxisse, et vitam amœnam,[r] et duris judicibus parum probatam: fomenta vulneribus nulla jussu suo; sed quia cetera palam vana objecisset, adjungere crimen, cujus se pariter indicem et testem faceret.' Adjicit dictis constantiam: incusat ultro 'intestabilem et consceleratum,' tanta vocis ac vultus securitate, ut labaret indicium, nisi Milichum uxor admonuisset, 'Antonium Natalem multa cum Scevino ac secreta collocutum, et esse utrosque C. Pisonis intimos.'

56. Ergo accitur Natalis: et diversi interrogantur, 'quisnam is sermo, qua de re fuisset?' cum exorta suspicio, quia non congruentia responderant; inditaque vincla: et tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere. Prior tamen Natalis, totius conjurationis magis gnarus, simul arguendi peritior, de Pisone primum fatetur: deinde adjicit Annæum Senecam, sive internuntius inter eum Pisonemque fuit, sive ut Neronis gratiam pararet, qui infensus Senecæ, omnes ad eum opprimendum artes conquirebat. Tum, cognito Natalis indicio, Scevinus quoque pari imbecillitate, an cuncta jam patefacta credens, nec ullum silentii emolumentum, edidit ceteros: ex quibus Lucanus, Quintianusque, et Senecio diu abnuere: post, promissa impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Aciliam matrem suam, Quintianus Glicium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, amicorum præcipuos, nominavere.

57. Atque interim Nero, recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio Epicharin[s] attineri, ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori, 'tormentis dilacerari' jubet. At illam non verbera, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a fœmina spernerentur, pervicere, quin objecta denegaret. Sic primus quæstionis dies contemtus. Postero, cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sellæ, (nam dis-

[r] *Vit. am.*] That he had given liberal entertainments, and that his life had been, &c.

[s] *Epicharin*] Ch. 51.

honos Soli, cui est vetus ædes apud Circum,[d] in quo facinus parabatur, qui occulta conjurationis numine retexisset: utque Circensium Cerealium[e] ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus celebraretur: mensis quoque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet:[f] templum Saluti exstrueretur eo loci,[g] ex quo Scevinus ferrum promserat. Ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit, inscripsitque Jovi Vindici. In præsens haud animadversum; post arma Julii Vindicis[h] ad auspicium et præsagium futuræ ultionis trahebatur. Reperio in commentariis senatus, Cerialem Anicium, consulem designatum, pro sententia dixisse, 'ut templum divo Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur.' Quod quidem ille decernebat, tamquam mortale fastigium egresso, et venerationem Deum merito: quod ad omina solum sui exitus verteretur: nam Deum honor Principi non ante habetur,[i] quam agere inter homines desierit.

[d] *Circum*] The Circus Maximus.

[e] *Circ. Cer.*] See ch. 53.

[f] *Neronis—accip.*] It was called Neroneus. See A. xvi, 12.

[g] *Eo loci*] See ch. 53.

[h] *J. Vindicis*] Who by his rebellion caused the death of Nero.

[i] *Non ante hab.*] Huet says: 'Falsum id in Augusto liquet ex Horatio et Manilio.' He did not consider that Augustus was called God by the poets, and that he had altars and sacred rites dedicated to him in the provinces; but that divine honors were not paid to him in the city before his death. That Nero was called God in the provinces, appears from a very small brass coin mentioned by Harduin, Select. Opp. p. 724, ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ: 'Nero Augustus a god:' the head is decorated with laurel. On the opposite side, ΙΟΥΛΙΟϹ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟϹ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ, 'Julius Andronicus, beneficent to the Laodiceans.'

ANNALES.

LIBER DECIMUS SEXTUS.

CHAP. 1. Nero is amused with hopes of finding great stores of hidden treasure in Africa; one Cesellius Bassus, deluded by his dreams, communicated the secret, and thence the wild prodigality of the prince—4. The quinquennial games; Nero contends for the victory in song and eloquence; he mounts the public stage; Vespasian (afterwards emperor) in danger from Nero's spies stationed in the playhouse—6. The death of Poppæa; her funeral; Nero delivers her panegyric—7. C. Cassius and L. Silanus sent into exile; Lepida left to the judgment of the prince—10. L. Vetus, Sextia, and Pollutia, put to death—12. The months of May and June called by the names of Claudius and Germanicus—13. An uncommon tempest in Campania, and epidemic disorders at Rome—14. Anteius and Ostorius compelled to put an end to their lives—17. Annæus Mela (the father of Lucan the poet), and Cerealis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Petronius, ordered to die—18. Character of Petronius—19. His behavior in his last moments—20. Silia banished on suspicion of being the person that discovered Nero's secret vices—21. Nero bent on the destruction of Pætus Thrasea and Bareas Soranus—22. Cossutianus accuses Thrasea—23. Ostorius Sabinus undertakes the charge against Bareas Soranus; Nero fixes the destruction both of Thrasea and Soranus at the time when Tiridates arrives at Rome to be invested with the crown of Armenia; Thrasea debates with his friends whether it were best for him to attend the senate; different opinions on the subject—27. The senate-house surrounded with guards—28. Bitter speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea—30. Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, involved in the same danger with her father; her noble defence; both condemned, as also Thrasea; the choice of their death left to themselves; Helvidius Priscus banished out of Italy; Montanus charged with writing a satirical poem against Nero; he is pardoned, but never to exercise any public office; the three accusers, Eprius Marcellus, Cossutianus, and Ostorius Sabinus, amply rewarded—34. A quæstor sent to see Thrasea finish his days; the remarkable behavior of Thrasea, and his noble advice to the quæstor.

These transactions passed, partly in the former consulship, and in the following year.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silanus, M. Vestinus Atticus.
819	66	Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Telesinus.

1. [A.U.C. 818. J.C. 65.] Inlusit dehinc Neroni fortuna, per vanitatem ipsius et promissa Cesellii Bassi; qui origine Pœnus, mente turbida, nocturnæ quietis imaginem ad spem haud dubiam retraxit: vectusque Romam, Principis aditum emercatus, expromit 'repertum in agro suo specum altitudine immensa, quo magna vis auri contineretur, non in formam pecuniæ, sed rudi et antiquo pondere: lateres[a] quippe prægraves jacere, adstantibus parte alia columnis:[b] quæ per tantum ævi occulta, augendis præsentibus bonis.[c] Ceterum, ut conjectura demonstraret, Didonem Phœnissam, Tyro[d] profugam, condita Carthagine, illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret; aut reges Numidarum,[e] et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur.'

2. Igitur Nero, non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide satis spectata, nec missis,[f] per quos nosceret, an vera adferrentur, auget ultro rumorem; mittitque, qui velut partam prædam aveherent. Dantur triremes et delectum navigium,[g] juvandæ festinationi: nec aliud per illos dies, populus credulitate, prudentes diversa fama, tulere. Ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro[h] celebrabatur: a vatibus oratoribusque[i] præcipua materia in laudem Principis adsumta est: 'Non enim tantum solitas fruges, nec metallis confusum aurum gigni, sed nova ubertate

[a] *Lateres*] Ingots of gold.

[b] *Columnis*] Of gold.

[c] *Præs. bonis*] Of Nero's reign.

[d] *Tyro*] Plin. v, 19. 'Tyrus quondam insula, præalto mari septingentis passibus divisa, nunc vero Alexandri oppugnantis operibus continens, olim portu clara, urbibus genitis, Lepti, Utica, et illa Romani imperii æmula, terrarum orbis avida, Carthagine: etiam Gadibus extra orbem conditis. Nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat.' Now a little town called *Sour*.

[e] *Reges Numidarum*] Numidia, now *the eastern part of the kingdom of Algiers*.

[f] *Nec missis*] In the Mss. and edd. it is *missis visoribus*. But this word is not used by Latin authors, and does not suit the brevity of Tacitus. It seems to have been brought in by some transcriber from the margin of some copy; and Ernesti is of the same opinion.

[g] *Delectum navigium*] That is, 'delecti sunt nautæ,' as Huet rightly explains it. Boxhorn proposes *remigium*.

[h] *Sec. lustro*] These quinquennial games had been instituted by Nero A.U.C. 813. as was said on A. xiv, 20. They were renewed on the expiration of five complete years; and hence ought to be called quinquennial, and not sexennial, as is wrongly contended for by Scalig. de Emend. Temp. v, p. 440. See these matters accurately discussed by Petav. de Doctr. Temp. xi, 15.

[i] *A vat. oratoribusque*] So Lipsius. Suetonius, in Ner. 12. mentions 'orationis carminisque Latini coronam.' Gordon: *The poets and orators, in their panegyrics on the prince, borrowed from thence their chief themes.*

provenire terram[k] et obvias opes deferre Deos:' quæque alia, summa facundia nec minore adulatione, servilia fingebant, securi de facilitate credentis.

3. Gliscebat interim luxuria spe inani, consumebanturque veteres opes,[l] quasi oblatis, quas multos per annos prodigeret. Quin et inde jam largiebatur: et divitiarum expectatio inter causas paupertatis publicæ erat: nam Bassus, effosso agro suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promissi specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites, sed populus agrestium, efficiendo operi adsumtus, tandem, posita vecordia, 'non falsa ante somnia sua, seque tunc primum elusum,' admirans, pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit. Quidam, 'vinctum ac mox dimissum,' tradidere, 'ademtis bonis, in locum regiæ gazæ.'

4. Interea senatus, propinquo jam lustrali certamine,[m] ut dedecus averteret,[n] offert Imperatori 'victoriam cantus,' adjicit 'facundiæ coronam,' qua ludicra deformitas

[k] *Provenire terram*] For in this happy age of Nero, even the earth brought forth with unusual richness productions of gold, and the gods themselves, &c. Thus did they exaggerate the riches to be derived from Africa. *Metallis* is not to be understood of other metals, but of mines, 'quibus confusum est aurum.' Pliny thus uses the word in many places.

[l] *Vet. opes*] This is illustrated by Suet. Ner. 31. Nero 'inchoabat piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum, contectam, porticibus conclusam, quo quidquid totis Baiis calidarum esset, converteretur: fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus, nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis, per centum sexaginta millia; latitudinis, qua contrariæ quinqueremes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia, quod ubique esset custodiæ in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos, non nisi ad opus damnari, præceperat. Ad hunc impendiorum furorem, super fiduciam imperii, etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est; ex indicio equitis Romani pro comperto pollicentis, thesauros antiquissimæ gazæ, quos Dido regina fugiens Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis specubus abditos, ac posse erui parvula molientium opera.'

[m] *Lustrali cert.*] The quinquennial games, now celebrating the second lustrum. As Tacitus is here, as usual, brief, I will cite a little from Suetonius: 'Cum magni æstimaret cantare, etiam Romæ Neroneum agona ante præstitutam diem revocavit: flagitantibusque cunctis cœlestem vocem, respondit quidem, in hortis se copiam volentibus facturum: sed adjuvante vulgi preces etiam statione militum, quæ tunc excubabat, repræsentaturum se pollicitus est libens: ac sine mora nomen suum in albo profitentium citharœdorum jussit adscribi, sorticulaque in urnam cum ceteris demissa, intravit ordine suo, simulque præfecti prætorii citharam sustinentes, post tribuni militum, juxtaque amicorum intimi: utque constitit, peracto principio, Nioben se cantaturum, per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit, et in horam fere decimam perseveravit: coronamque eam et reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentem distulit, ut sæpius canendi occasio esset.' Suet. Ner. 21.

[n] *Ded. av.*] Of the emperor's singing.

velaretur. Sed Nero, 'nihil ambitu, nec potestate senatus opus esse,' dictitans, 'se æquum adversus æmulos, et religione judicum meritam laudem adsecuturum,' primo carmen in scena recitat: mox, flagitante vulgo,[o] 'ut omnia studia sua publicaret,' (hæc enim verba dixere,) ingreditur theatrum,[p] cunctis citharæ legibus obtemperans:[q] ne fessus resideret, ne sudorem, nisi ea, quam indutui gerebat, veste detergeret: ut nulla oris aut narium excrementa viserentur. Postremo flexus genu, et cœtum illum manu veneratus, sententias judicum[r] opperiebatur ficto pavore: et plebs quidem Urbis, histrionum quoque gestus juvare solita, personabat certis modis plausuque composito. Crederes lætari; ac fortasse lætabantur, per injuriam publici flagitii.[s]

5. Sed qui remotis e municipiis, severamque adhuc[t] et

[o] *Flag. vulgo*] Though Nero wished it, and every one required it, yet a feeling of shame restrained him; when Vitellius, the president of the exhibition, and afterwards emperor, prevailed on him, as we learn from Suet. Vitell. 4. 'Caio per aurigandi, Claudio per aleæ studium familiaris: sed aliquanto Neroni acceptior, cum propter eadem hæc, tum peculiari merito: quod præsidens certamini Neroneo, cupientem inter citharœdos contendere, nec, quamvis flagitantibus cunctis, promittere audentem, ideoque egressum theatro, revocaverat, quasi perseverantis populi legatione suscepta, exorandumque præbuerat.'

[p] *Ingr. theatrum*] Nero had recited his poem in the 'scena,' i. e. in the 'proscenium,' or stage, like the ordinary players. Soon after, on his going out, he was recalled by Vitellius, and mounted the 'theatrum,' or the orchestra, in which the 'thymelici,' i. e. the harpers, flute-players, and musicians performed their parts. For these divisions of the theatre, see Vitruv. v, 6. &c.

[q] *Obtemperans*] Suet. Ner. 24. 'In certando vero ita legi obediebat, ut numquam excreare ausus, sudorem quoque frontis brachio detergeret: atque etiam in tragico quodam actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumsisset, pavidus et metuens ne ob delictum certamine summoveretur, non aliter confirmatus est, quam adjurante hypocrita, non animadversum id inter exsultationes succlamationesque populi.'

[r] *Sententias judicum*] Suet. Ner. 23. 'Quam autem trepide anxieque certaverit, quanta adversariorum æmulatione, quo metu judicum, vix credi potest. Adversarios quasi plane conditionis ejusdem observare, captare, infamare secreto, nonnumquam ex occursu maledictis incessere; ac, si qui arte præcellerent, corrumpere etiam solebat. Judices autem prius, quam inciperet, reverentissime alloquebatur, omnia se facienda fecisse, sed eventum in manu esse fortunæ: illos ut sapientes et doctos viros fortuita debere excludere.' See more in Dio, lxiii, p. 719. The prince was not ashamed to be least among the Cæsars, in order to be the greatest among the musicians: *ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ποιοῦντα, ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν ἀγῶνα νικήσας, ἡττηθῇ τὸν τῶν Καισάρων.*

[s] *Per—flagitii*] Huet well explains this: 'ac fortasse lætabantur, etsi sibi injuria per publicum hoc flagitium fieret, et magnum sibi dedecus conscisceretur.' Acidal. Boxhorn. Ernest. and others in vain alter the text by reading *per incuriam.*

[t] *Sev. adhuc*] Ms. Agr. *severaque et adhuc antiqui moris retinente Italia:* which expresses a sense opposed to the meaning of Tacitus: for it was not all Italy which then preserved the ancient manners, but only those *municipia* which were remote from Rome.

antiqui moris retinentes Italiam, quique, per longas provincias,[u] lasciviæ inexperti, officio legationum[v] aut privata utilitate, advenerant, neque aspectum illum tolerare, neque labori inhonesto sufficere: cum manibus nesciis[x] fatiscerent, turbarent gnaros ac sæpe a militibus verberarentur, qui per cuneos stabant, ne quod temporis momentum impari clamore aut silentio segni præteriret. Constitit, plerosque equitum, dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem multitudinem enituntur, obtritos,[y] et alios, dum diem noctemque sedilibus continuant, morbo exitiabili correptos: quippe gravior inerat metus, si spectaculo defuissent, multis palam, et pluribus occultis, ut nomina ac vultus, alacritatem, tristitiamque coëuntium scrutarentur: unde tenuioribus statim inrogata supplicia, adversus inlustres dissimulatum ad præsens et mox redditum odium: ferebantque 'Vespasianum,[z] tamquam somno conniveret, a Phœbo liberto[a] increpitum, ægreque meliorum precibus obtectum: mox imminentem perniciem majore fato effugisse.'

6. Post finem ludicri, Poppæa mortem obiit,[b] fortuita mariti iracundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis adflicta est: neque enim venenum crediderim, quamvis quidam scriptores tradant, odio magis quam ex fide: quippe liberorum cupiens et amori uxoris obnoxius erat. Corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos;[c] sed, regum externorum

[u] *Longas prov.*] i. e. longinquas.

[v] *Officio legationum*] 'Præcipitur edicto divi Vespasiani omnibus civitatibus ne plures quam ternos legatos mittant.' Digest. Libr. I, Tit. 7. de legationibus, leg. 4. ex Marciano.

[x] *Nesciis*] i. e. 'compositi plausus.'

[y] *Obtritos*] Suet. Ner. 23. 'Cantante eo, [Nerone,] ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum erat: itaque et enixæ quædam in spectaculis dicuntur, et multi tædio audiendi laudandique, clausis oppidorum portis, aut furtim exsiluisse de muro, aut, morte simulata, funere elati.' For there is no pleasure where compulsion is used.

[z] *Vespas.*] Afterwards emperor.

[a] *Phœbo lib.*] We learn from Suet. Vesp. 14. that Phœbus was 'ex officio admissionis.' In an old inscription in Gruter, p. 610, n. 6.

D M
TI. CLAVDIO. AVG. L.
PHOEBO
CLAVDIA PANNYCHIS
FECIT
CONIVGI BENE MERENTI.

[b] *Mortem obiit*] Sueton. Ner. 35. 'Poppæam duodecimo die post divortium Octaviæ in matrimonium acceptam dilexit unice: et tamen ipsam quoque ictu calcis occidit; quod se ex aurigatione sero reversum, gravida et ægra conviciis incesserat. Ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam, amisitque admodum infantem.' On the monstrous luxury of Poppæa, see Dio, lxii, p. 714.

[c] *Romanus mos*] But not ancient. Plin. vii, 54. 'Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum: et tamen multæ fa-

consuetudine, differtum odoribus conditur,[d] tumuloque Juliorum[e] infertur. Ductæ tamen publicæ exsequiæ, laudavitque ipse apud rostra 'formam ejus, et quod divinæ infantis parens fuisset,' aliaque fortunæ munera pro virtutibus.

7. Mortem Poppææ, ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus lætam,[f] ob impudicitiam ejus sævitiamque, nova insuper invidia Nero complevit, prohibendo C. Cassium[g] officio exsequiarum: quod primum indicium mali; neque in longum dilatum est. Sed Silanus[h] additur, nullo crimine, nisi quod Cassius opibus vetustis et gravitate morum, Silanus claritudine generis et modesta juventa præcellebant. Igitur missa ad senatum oratione, 'removendos a republica utrosque,' disseruit: objectavitque Cassio, 'quod inter imagines majorum etiam C. Cassii[i] effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam: 'Duci Partium:' quippe semina belli civilis et defectionem a domo Cæsarum quæsitam: ac, ne memoria tantum infensi nominis[k] ad dis-

miliæ priscos servavere ritus; sicut in Cornelia, nemo ante Syllam dictatorem traditur crematus: idque voluisse, veritum talionem, eruto C. Marii cadavere.'

[d] *Diff.—conditur*] Besides the spices with which the body of Poppæa was embalmed, an infinite quantity was burned on the day of the public burial, as we learn from Plin. xii, 18. 'Periti rerum asseverant' that Arabia does not produce as much frankincense and myrrh 'annuo fœtu, quantum Nero Princeps novissimo Poppææ suæ die concremaverit.' The annual produce of Arabia may be gathered from Pliny, ch. 17. for he follows Herodotus, and tells us 'singula millia talentum thuris annua pensitasse Arabas regibus Persarum.'

[e] *Tumulo Juliorum*] Was this at Rome, or at the Bovillæ, where was the chapel of the Julian *gens* and the monuments of the Julii? For the Bovillæ, see A. xv, 23. See also Corradin. Vetus Latium, vol. ii, p. 187.

[f] *Rec. lætam*] Poppæa's death was a cause of public mourning, but by reason of her incontinence and cruelty a matter of rejoicing to those who remembered those monstrous things, of which see in A. xiii, 45, 46. xv, 61. *Nova invidia*, by new crimes.

[g] *C. Cassium*] C. Cassius Longinus, famous for his knowlege of law and his wealth; of whom Suetonius writes, Ner. 37. '[Objectum] Cassio Longino, jurisconsulto, ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate Caii Cassii percussoris Cæsaris imagines restituisset.' Juvenal also, x, 15. 'Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis, Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes Tota cohors.' See St. C. 65.

[h] *Silanus*] Lucius Sil. Torquatus, the fourth grandson of Augustus, and the last of the race. See St. C. 59. His statue was afterwards placed in the forum by Titinius Capito: Plin. Ep. i, 17. 'Redditus est L. Silano debitus honor, cujus immortalitati Capito prospexit pariter et suæ: neque enim magis decorum et insigne est statuam in foro populi Romani habere, quam ponere.'

[i] *C. Cassii*] The murderer of Jul. Cæsar.

[k] *Infensi nom.*] And, lest it should should not be sufficient to revive the hated name of C. Cassius for purposes of rebellion, he united with himself L. Silanus.

cordias uteretur, adsumsisse L. Silanum, juvenem genere nobilem, animo præruptum, quem novis rebus ostentaret.'

8. Ipsum dehinc Silanum increpuit iisdem, quibus patruum ejus Torquatum,[l] 'tamquam disponeret jam imperii curas, præficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistolis libertos:' inania simul et falsa: nam Silanus intentior metu et exitio patrui ad præcavendum exterritus erat. Inducit posthac, vocabulo indicum, qui in Lepidam,[m] Cassii uxorem, Silani amitam, 'incestum cum fratris filio[n] et diros sacrorum[o] ritus' confingerent. Trahebantur, ut conscii, Vulcatius Tullinus[p] ac Marcellus Cornelius,[q] senatores, et Calpurnius Fabatus,[r] eques Romanus; qui, appellato Principe, instantem damnationem frustrati, mox Neronem, circa summa scelera distentum, quasi minores evasere.

9. Tunc consulto senatus 'Cassio et Silano exilia' decernuntur: 'de Lepida Cæsar statueret:' deportatusque in insulam Sardiniam Cassius,[s] et senectus ejus expectabatur. Silanus, tamquam Naxum[t] deveheretur, Ostiam[u] amotus; post municipio Apuliæ, cui nomen est Barium,[v] clauditur. Illic, indignissimum casum sapienter tolerans, a centurione, ad cædem misso, corripitur: suadentique 'venas abrumpere,' 'animum quidem morti destinatum,' ait, 'sed non permittere percussori gloriam ministerii.' At centurio, quamvis inermem, prævalidum tamen et iræ quam timori propiorem cernens, premi a militibus jubet.

[l] *Torquatum*] A. xv, 35.

[m] *Lepidam*] Daughter of Julius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. St. C. 64.

[n] *Fratris filio*] Lucius Silanus, whose aunt was Lepida.

[o] *Sacrorum*] Magic rites.

[p] *V. Tullinus*] Perhaps *V. Tertullinus*, as Lipsius thinks. See H. iv, 9.

[q] *M. Cornelius*] Afterwards killed by Galba in Spain. H. i, 37.

[r] *C. Fabatus*] Of whom is an old inscription in Gruter, p. 382, n. 6.

C. CALPVRNIVS. L. F. OVF
FABATVS
VI. VIR. IIII. VIR. I. D. PR. M
PRAEF. PRAET. TRIB. MIL. LEG. XXI.
RAPAC
PRAEF. COH. VII. LVSITAN. ET
NATION. GETVLIC. ARSEM
QVAE. SVNT. IN. NVMIDIA
FLAM. DIVI. AVG
EX. PATRIMONIO. T. F. I.

[s] *Sard. Cassius*] So also Pompon. de orig. jur. Digest. i, Tit. 2. '[Massurio Sabino] successit Caius Cassius Longinus, natus ex filia Tuberonis, quæ fuit neptis Serv. Sulpicii; et ideo proavum suum Servium Sulpicium appellat. Hic consul fuit cum Quartino, temporibus Tiberii, sed plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum Cæsar [Nero] civitate pelleret: expulsus ab eo in Sardiniam, revocatus a Vespasiano, diem suum obiit.' Of Cassius, see more in Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. p. 113. &c.

[t] *Naxum*] An island of the Ægean: now *Naxia*.

[u] *Ostiam*] Now *Ostia*.

[v] *Barium*] Now *Bari*, a town of Apulia.

Nec omisit Silanus obniti et intendere ictus, quantum manibus nudis valebat, donec a centurione vulneribus adversis, tamquam in pugna, caderet.

10. Haud minus promte L. Vetus socrusque ejus Sextia, et Pollutia filia, necem subiere: invisi Principi, tamquam vivendo exprobrarent, interfectum esse Rubellium Plautum,[x] generum Lucii Veteris: sed initium detegendæ sævitiæ[y] præbuit, interversis patroni rebus, ad accusandum transgrediens Fortunatus libertus, adscito Claudio Demiano, quem, ob flagitia vinctum a Vetere, Asiæ proconsule, exsolvit Nero, in præmium accusationis. Quod ubi cognitum reo, seque et libertum pari sorte componi, Formianos in agros[z] digreditur. Illic eum milites occulta custodia circumdant. Aderat filia, super ingruens periculum, longo dolore atrox, ex quo percussores Plauti, mariti sui, viderat: cruentamque cervicem ejus amplexa, servabat sanguinem et vestes respersas; vidua, implexa luctu continuo, nec ullis alimentis, nisi quæ mortem arcerent. Tum, hortante patre, Neapolim pergit: et quia aditu Neronis prohibebatur, egressus obsidens,[a] 'audiret insontem, neve consulatus sui quondam collegam[b] dederet liberto,' modo muliebri ejulatu, aliquando, sexum egressa, voce infensa, clamitabat; donec Princeps immobilem se precibus et invidiæ juxta ostendit.

11. Ergo nuntiat patri, 'abjicere spem, et uti necessitate.' Simul adfertur, 'parari cognitionem senatus et trucem sententiam.' Nec defuere qui monerent, 'magna ex parte hæredem Cæsarem nuncupare, atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere:' quod aspernatus, ne vitam, proxime libertatem actam,[c] novissimo servitio fœdaret, largitur in servos quantum aderat pecuniæ: et 'si qua asportari possent, sibi quemque deducere, tres modo lectulos ad suprema retineri,' jubet. Tunc eodem in cubiculo, eodem ferro abscindunt venas, properique, et singulis vestibus ad verecundiam velati, balneis inferuntur: pater filiam, avia

[x] *R. Plautum*] R. Plautus, great-grandson of Tiberius, had married Antistia Pollutia, daughter of Lucius Vetus, grand-daughter of Sextia. For the death of Rubellius, see A. xiv, 58, 59. See also St. C. 76, 77.

[y] *Deteg. sævitiæ*] Of Nero to the family of L. Vetus.

[z] *Formianos in agros*] Near Formiæ. For this city, see on A. xv, 46.

[a] *Egr. obs.*] *Egressus*, sc. of Nero. *Audiret*, i.e. begs him, &c.

[b] *Quond. coll.*] In A.U.C. 808. in the first year of the reign of Nero, Nero and L. Antistius Vetus entered on the consulate: A. xiii, 11.

[c] *Prox.—act.*] Spent much in the exercise of the ancient independence.

neptem, illa utrosque intuens, et certatim precantes 'labenti animæ celerem exitum, ut relinquerent suos superstites[d] et morituros.' Servavitque ordinem fortuna: ac senior[e] prius, tum cui prima ætas, extinguuntur. Accusati post sepulturam, decretumque, 'ut more majorum punirentur:'[f] et Nero intercessit, mortem sine arbitro permittens: ea, cædibus peractis, ludibria adjiciebantur.

12. P. Gallus, eques Romanus, quod Fenio Rufo[g] intimus et Veteri non alienus fuerat, aqua atque igni prohibitus est. Liberto et accusatori præmium operæ, locus in theatro inter viatores tribunicios[h] datur: et mensis, qui Aprilem, eumdemque Neroneum, sequebatur, Maius Claudii,[i] Junius Germanici, vocabulis mutantur: testificante Cornelio Orphito, qui id censuerat, 'ideo Junium mensem[k] transmissum, quia duo jam Torquati,[l] ob scelera interfecti, infaustum nomen Junium fecissent.'

13. Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbusta, fruges passim disjecit; pertulitque violentiam ad vicina Urbi; in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiæ[m] depopulabatur, nulla cœli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur: non sexus, non

[d] *Suos superst.*] Sextia prayed that she might die before her son-in-law L. Vetus and her grand-daughter Pollutia: L. Vetus prayed that he might die before his mother-in-law Sextia and his daughter Pollutia: Pollutia, that she might die before her father L. Vetus and her grandmother Sextia. But fortune pursued the regular course of nature; and the eldest Sextia died first, then the father, and the daughter.

[e] *Senior*] Rather *seniores*.

[f] *More majorum pun.*] See A. xiv, 48.

[g] *Fenio Rufo*] A. xv, 66. 68.

[h] *Viat. trib.*] Who had a place in the theatre either on the tribunician benches, or just by them. As the tribunes had no lictors, they were supplied with attendants called 'viatores.' This name is thus explained by Columel. in Præf. de Re Rust. 'Illis enim temporibus, ut ante jam diximus, proceres civitatis in agris morabantur: et cum consilium publicum desiderabatur, e villis arcessebantur in senatum; ex quo, qui eos evocabant, Viatores nominati sunt.'

[i] *Maius Cl.*] Nero, as appears from the coins, was called NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. i.e. 'Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus.' The names of Claudius and Germanicus were given to the months of May and June, that by a gross flattery the fourth part of the year might receive its names from an infamous prince.

[k] *Jun. mensem*] *Mensem* appears to be redundant.

[l] *Duo—Torq.*] Lucius Torquatus and his uncle Torquatus Silanus, as was said in ch. 8. and in A. xv, 35.

[m] *Vis pest.*] This pestilence, which raged in the autumn, and destroyed 30,000 persons, I should rather reckon as an epidemic, from the small number of its victims.

ætas periculo vacua: servitia perinde et ingenua plebes raptim extingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta; qui, dum adsident, dum deflent, sæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum senatorumque interitus, quamvis promiscui, minus flebiles erant; tamquam communi mortalitate sævitiam Principis prævenirent. Eodem anno delectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africamque et Asiam habiti sunt, supplendis Illyrici legionibus, ex quibus ætate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur. Cladem Lugdunensem[n] quadragies sestertio[o] solatus est Princeps, ut amissa urbi reponerent: quam pecuniam Lugdunenses ante obtulerant,[p] turbidis casibus.

14. [A.U.C. 819. J.C. 66.] C. Suetonio, L. Telesino consulibus,[q] Antistius Sosianus, factitatis in Neronem carminibus probrosis, exilio, ut dixi,[r] multatus, postquam id honoris indicibus tamque promtum ad cædes Principem accepit, inquies animo, et occasionum haud segnis, Pammenem, ejusdem loci exulem et Chaldæorum arte famosum, eoque multorum amicitiis innexum, similitudine fortunæ sibi conciliat. Ventitare ad eum nuntios et consultationes[s] non frustra ratus, simul annuam pecuniam a P. Anteio ministrari cognoscit: neque nescium habebat, Anteium caritate Agrippinæ invisum Neroni, opesque ejus præcipuas ad eliciendam cupidinem, eamque causam multis exitio esse. Igitur, interceptis Anteii literis, furatus etiam libellos, quibus dies genitalis ejus et eventura secretis

[n] *Clad. Lugd.*] In A.U.C. 711. L. Munatius Plancus had led out a colony to Lugdunum, as we learn from Dio, xlvi, p. 323. and from an ancient inscription noticed by De Colonia, in Histoire Littéraire et Antiquités de Lyon, vol. i, p. 8. This city, stocked with the most beautiful works of art, was completely destroyed in one night by a great fire, 100 years from the establishment of the colony, A.U.C. 811. as Seneca relates at large in his Ep. 91. but more ingeniously than is suitable to so mournful a subject. Many remains of this fire have been dug out, and may be seen in the above work of De Colonia, p. 148. &c.

[o] *Quadrag. sest.*] 33,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Nor must we listen to Paradin and Saint Aubin, who, from too great a desire to magnify their city, contend that we should read *quatercenties*, which however would be rather *quadringenties*. *Quadringenties sestertium* are 333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[p] *Ante obt.*] In the times of Caius or Claudius. The wealth of Lyons may be seen in De Colonia, l. c. p. 33. &c.

[q] *L. Telesino coss.*] C. Suetonius Paullinus and C. Lucius Telesinus were consuls A.U.C. 819. J.C. 66. In an ancient inscription in Gruter, p. 1102, n. 4. C. LVCIO. TELESINO. C. SVETONIO. PAVLINO. COS.

[r] *Dixi*] A. xiv, 48.

[s] *Consult.*] In magic. The folly of men, who are indifferent to the blessings they possess, and call down ills which perhaps will never attend them!

Pammenis occultabantur, simul repertis, quæ de ortu vitaque Ostorii Scapulæ[t] composita erant, scribit ad Principem, 'magna se et quæ incolumitati ejus conducerent, allaturum, si brevem exilii veniam impetravisset: quippe Anteium et Ostorium imminere rebus, et sua Cæsarisque fata scrutari.' Exin missæ liburnicæ,[u] advehiturque propere Sosianus: ac, vulgato ejus indicio, inter damnatos magis, quam inter reos, Anteius Ostoriusque habebantur: adeo ut testamentum Anteii nemo obsignaret,[v] nisi Tigellinus auctor extitisset. Monitus prius Anteius, 'ne supremas tabulas moraretur:' atque ille, hausto veneno, tarditatem ejus perosus, intercisis venis, mortem adproperavit.

15. Ostorius longinquis in agris, apud finem Ligurum,[x] id temporis erat: eo missus centurio, qui cædem ejus maturaret. Causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa militari fama, et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus,[y] ingenti corporis robore armorumque scientia, metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper, et reperta nuper conjuratione magis exterritum. Igitur centurio, ubi effugia villæ clausit, jussa Imperatoris Ostorio aperit. Is fortitudinem adversum hostes sæpe spectatam in se vertit: et quia venæ, quamquam interruptæ, parum sanguinis effundebant, hactenus manu servi usus, ut immotum pugionem extolleret,[z] adpressit dextram ejus, juguloque occurrit.

16. Etiam si bella externa et obitas pro republica mortes tanta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satietas cepisset, aliorumque tædium expectarem, quamvis honestos civium exitus, tristes tamen et continuos aspernantium: at nunc patientia servilis, tantumque sanguinis domi perditum, fatigant animum et mœstitia restringunt. Neque aliam defensionem ab iis, quibus ista noscentur,

[t] *Ost. Scap.*] A. xii, 31. xiv, 48.

[u] *Missæ liburnicæ*] Suidas: *Λιβουρνικαὶ, νῆες ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τριηραρχικὸν ἐσχηματισμέναι τύπον, ἀλλὰ ληστρικώτεραι, χαλκέμβολοί τε, καὶ ἰσχυραὶ, καὶ κατάφρακτοι, καὶ τὸ τάχος αὐτῶν ἄπιστον.* By these vessels chiefly it was that Antony was defeated in the battle of Actium, whence their use was common afterwards among the Romans. See Veget. v, 3.

[v] *Nemo obs.*] To give validity to a will, seven witnesses were necessary.

[x] *Ligurum*] The Ligures, formerly between the Rhodanus or *Rhone*, and the Macra or *Magra*.

[y] *Brit. meritus*] A. xii, 31.

[z] *Pug. ext.*] To hold the poniard steadily, he grasped the slave's hand. *Jugulo*, i. e. suo.

que et novitate cujusque stupri, perscripsit, atque obsignata misit Neroni: fregitque annulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula.[p]

20. Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum ingenia notescerent, offertur Silia, matrimonio senatoris haud ignota, et ipsi ad omnem libidinem adscita, ac Petronio perquam familiaris: agitur in exilium, tamquam non siluisset, quæ viderat pertuleratque, proprio odio.[q] At Numicium Thermum, prætura functum, Tigellini simultatibus dedidit, quia libertus Thermi quædam de Tigellino criminose detulerat, quæ cruciatibus tormentorum ipse, patronus ejus nece immerita lueret.[r]

21. Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam[s] exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Pæto et Barea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in Thraseam: quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina referretur, ut memoravi:[t] quodque Juvenalium ludicro parum expectabilem operam præbuerat: eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavii, unde ortus erat, ludis cæsticis,[u] a Trojano Antenore institutis, habitu tragico cecinerat: die quoque, quo prætor Antistius, ob probra in Neronem composita, ad mortem damnabatur, mitiora censuit obtinuitque:[v] et, cum Deum honores Poppææ[x] decernerentur, sponte absens,

by many critics to be the work called Petronii Arbitri Satyricon: but this is by no means probable: for how could he have written in a few hours a work too long to be called by the name of 'codicilli?' Besides, scarcely any thing occurs in the Satyricon, which suits Nero: it is generally a representation of the weakness of Claudius, as learned men observe.

[p] *Fac. peric.*] Lest Nero or Tigellinus should use it for the purpose of creating danger to others.

[q] *Propr. od.*] We must read, according to the conjecture of Freinshemius, *pertuleratque. Proprio odio hanc; Numicium Thermum, prætura functum, Tigellini simultatibus dedidit.*

[r] *Lueret*] Perhaps *luere*, as Acidalius thinks.

[s] *Virt. ips.*] A concise, but immense praise. Dio also says briefly, lxii, p. 713. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Θρασέας καὶ ὁ Σωρανὸς, καὶ γένους, καὶ πλούτου, τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες. What was the family of these two excellent men, is uncertain. Conjectures may be seen in Ursatus, Monum. Patav. p. 155. and Reimar in his notes to Dio, l. c.

[t] *Ut mem.*] A. xiv, 12.

[u] *Ludis cæst.*] So Puteolan. and all the moderns. That these games were celebrated every 30 years at Padua, and that in them Thrasea performed his tragedy, is stated by Dio, lxii, p. 714. Ἐν Παταβίῳ τῇ πατρίδι τραγῳδίαν κατά τι πάτριον ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι τριακονταετηρίδι ὑποκρινάμενος.

[v] *Cens. obtin.*] A. xiv, 48.

[x] *Deum—P.*] That divine honors were paid to Poppæa Sabina, is shown by a very small brass coin, in the museum of D. de Rothelin, DIVA POPPAEA.

funeri non interfuit. Quæ obliterari non sinebat Capito Cossutianus,[y] præter animum ad flagitia præcipitem, inimicus Thraseæ, quod auctoritate ejus concidisset, juvantis Cilicum legatos, dum Capitonem repetundarum interrogant.

22. Quin et illa objectabat: 'principio anni vitare Thraseam solemne jusjurandum:[z] nuncupationibus votorum[a] non adesse, quamvis quindecimvirali sacerdotio præditum: numquam pro salute Principis aut cœlesti voce[b] immolavisse: adsiduum olim et indefessum, qui vulgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet fautorem aut adversarium ostenderet, triennio non introiisse curiam:[c] nuperrimeque, cum ad coercendos Silanum et Veterem[d] certatim concurreretur, privatis potius clientium negotiis vacavisse: secessionem jam id et partes, et, si idem multi audeant, bellum esse. Ut quondam C. Cæsarem,'[e] inquit, ' et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur: et habet sectatores, vel potius satellites, qui nondum contumaciam sententiarum, sed habitum vultumque ejus sectantur, rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent. Huic uni incolumitas tua sine arte,[f] sine honore. Prosperas Principis res spernit: etiamne luctibus et doloribus non satiatur? Ejusdem animi est,

[y] *C. Coss.*] A. xiii, 33.

[z] *Sol. jusj.*] Formerly the oath was taken to preserve the laws. In A.U.C. 712. as we learn from Dio, xlvii, p. 337. the triumvirs swore on the kalends of January, that they would hold valid the acts of Julius Cæsar: after this the custom was to swear on the acts of the emperors. This oath was taken by the senate and people, and especially by the soldiers, first soldier by soldier, and afterwards more generally, by one out of each regiment: but it was often altered according to the will of the prince, or the servile obeisance of the people, as we may see in Dio, lviii, p. 631, 632. and lx, p. 681.

[a] *Nuncup. vot.*] When vows were offered for the empire, for the safety of the emperor, and for other matters gloomy or prosperous. Of these 'supplicia' and the 'quindecimviri,' see A. iv, 17. vi, 12. xv, 23. In an old calendar, III. NONAS, i. e. 'on the 3rd day of January,' VOTORVM NVNCVPATIO.

[b] *Cœl. voce*] Of the emperor who sang. See Suet. Ner. 21. In more positive terms speaks Philostr. Vit. Apollon. v, 7. of the many and virulent accusers, who put their questions as follows: Οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μὲν ῥαθύμως δὲ ἤκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἔλθοι.

[c] *Tri.—curiam*] But, as it would seem, he was prohibited by the emperor himself. A. xv, 23.

[d] *Silanum et Veterem*] ch. 9 and 10.

[e] *C. Cæs.*] As formerly this city, so fond of disturbance, spoke of C. Julius Cæsar, who was bent on slavery; and M. Cato, the assertor of liberty; so now, &c.

[f] *Sine arte*] Lipsius proposes, and not unreasonably, *Huic uni incolumitas tua sine cura, artes sine honore.*

Poppæam divam non credere, cujus in acta divi Augusti et divi Julii non jurare. Spernit religiones, abrogat leges. Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus, curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit.[g] Aut transeamus ad illa instituta, si potiora sunt; aut nova cupientibus auferatur dux et auctor. Ista secta[h] Tuberones[i] et Favonios,[k] veteri quoque reipublicæ ingrata nomina, genuit. Ut imperium evertant, libertatem præferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam aggredientur. Frustra Cassium amovisti,[l] si gliscere et vigere Brutorum æmulos passurus es. Denique nihil ipse de Thrasea scripseris;[m] disceptatorem senatum nobis relinque.' Extollit ira promtum Cossutiani animum Nero; adjicitque Marcellum Eprium acri eloquentia.

[g] *Non fecerit*] Opposed the senate and the emperor. The Romans, like us, had their journals or newspapers.

[h] *Ista secta*] The Stoic. Far otherwise writes Seneca, de Clem. ii, 5. 'Nulla secta benignior leniorque est, nulla amantior hominum, et communibus bonis attentior: ut propositum sit usui esse aut auxilio, nec sibi tantum, sed universis singulisque consulere.' But he, who 'universis consulit,' has always afforded ample scope for accusation.

[i] *Tuberones*] Q. Ælius Tubero was celebrated for his knowlege of the law, of the Stoic philosophy, and of logic. Cicero, pro Muræn. 36. speaks of him at large; but I will quote the passage, to show where virtue ends and vice begins: 'Noli, Cato, majorum instituta, quæ res ipsa publica, quæ diuturnitas imperii comprobat, nimium severa oratione reprehendere. Fuit eodem ex studio vir eruditus apud patres nostros, et honestus homo et nobilis, Q. Tubero. Is, cum epulum Q. Maximus, Africani patrui sui nomine, populo Romano daret, rogatus est a Maximo ut triclinium sterneret, cum esset Tubero ejusdem Africani sororis filius. Atque ille, homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus, stravit pelliculis hædinis lectulos Punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia; quasi vero esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur: quem cum supremo ejus die Maximus laudaret, gratias egit Diis immortalibus, quod ille vir in hac republica potissimum natus esset: necesse enim fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Hujus in morte celebranda, graviter tulit populus Romanus hanc perversam sapientiam Tuberonis. Itaque homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum esset L. Paulli nepos, P. Africani, ut dixi, sororis filius, his hædinis pelliculis prætura dejectus est. Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam; publicam magnificentiam diligit: non amat profusas epulas; sordes et inhumanitatem multo minus. Distinguit rationem officiorum ac temporum; vicissitudinem laboris ac voluptatis.' See also Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. p. 92.

[k] *Favonios*] M. Favonius, the rival of Cato, the friend of Brutus, gained a great name by his love of liberty and by his witticisms: he was put to death by Antony. See Suet. Aug. 13. Val. Max. ii, 10. n. 8. Plutarch, Pomp. p. 663. Dio, xxxviii, p. 62. xlvii, p. 356.

[l] *Amovisti*] Banished to Sardinia: ch. 9.

[m] *De Thr. scrips.*] Because, though against his will, Nero made much of Thrasea, as we learn from Plut. Præcept. Reip. Gerend. vol. ii, p. 810. Ὁ Νέρων ἐκεῖνος ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἢ κτεῖναι τὸν Θρασέαν μάλιστα μισῶν καὶ φοβούμενος, ὅμως ἐγκαλοῦντός τινος ὡς

23. At Baream Soranum jam sibi Ostorius Sabinus, eques Romanus, poposcerat reum, ex proconsulatu Asiæ, in qua offensiones Principis auxit justitia atque industria, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumserat; vimque civitatis Pergamenæ, prohibentis Acratum,[n] Cæsaris libertum, statuas et picturas avehere, inultam omiserat. Sed crimini dabatur 'amicitia Plauti,[o] et ambitio conciliandæ provinciæ ad spes novas.' Tempus damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates[p] accipiendo Armeniæ regno adventabat: ut ad externa rumoribus intestinum scelus obscuraretur; an, ut magnitudinem Imperatoriam cæde insignium virorum, quasi regio facinore, ostentaret.

24. Igitur omni civitate ad excipiendum Principem[q] spectandumque regem effusa, Thrasea, occursu prohibitus, non demisit animum; sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit, requirens 'objecta, et expurgaturum' adseverans, 'si notitiam criminum et copiam diluendi habuisset.' Eos codicillos Nero properanter accepit, spe, exterritum Thraseam scripsisse, per quæ claritudinem Principis extolleret, suamque famam dehonestaret. Quod ubi non evenit, vultumque et spiritus et libertatem insontis ultro extimuit, 'vocari patres' jubet. Tum Thrasea inter proximos consultavit, 'tentaretne defensionem, an sperneret.' Diversa consilia adferebantur.

25. Quibus intrari curiam placebat, 'securos esse de constantia ejus,' dixerunt; 'nihil dicturum, nisi quo gloriam augeret. Segnes et pavidos supremis suis secretum circumdare. Aspiceret populus virum, morti obvium; audiret senatus voces, quasi ex aliquo numine, supra humanas: posse ipso miraculo etiam Neronem permoveri: sin crudelitati insisteret, distingui certe apud posteros memoriam honesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium.'

26. Contra, qui opperiendum domi censebant, de ipso Thrasea eadem:[r] 'sed ludibria et contumelias imminere: subtraheret aures conviciis et probris. Non solum Cossu-

κακῶς κεκριμένου καὶ ἀδικῶς· Ἐβουλόμην ἂν, ἔφη, Θρασέαν οὕτως ἐμὲ φιλεῖν, ὡς δικαστὴς ἄριστός ἐστιν.

[n] *Acratum*] A. xv, 45.

[o] *Plauti*] Rubellius Plautus: A. xiv, 57. 59.

[p] *Tiridates*] We have heard much of him before, and particularly in A. xv, 28.

[q] *Exc. Princ.*] On his return from Campania: ch. 19.

[r] *Eadem*] sc. dicebant.

tianum aut Eprium ad scelus promtos; superesse, qui forsitan manus ictusque per immanitatem Augusti:[s] etiam bonos metu sequi. Detraheret potius senatui, quem perornavisset, infamiam tanti flagitii; et relinqueret incertum, quid, viso Thrasea reo, decreturi patres fuerint. Ut Neronem flagitiorum pudor caperet, inrita spe agitari: multoque magis timendum, ne in conjugem, in familiam, in cetera pignora ejus sæviret. Proinde intemeratus, impollutus, quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit, eorum gloria peteret finem.' Aderat consilio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans juvenis; et cupidine laudis offerebat, 'se intercessurum senatusconsulto:' nam plebis tribunus erat. Cohibuit spiritus ejus Thrasea, 'ne vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa, inciperet. Sibi actam ætatem, et tot per annos continuum vitæ ordinem non deserendum: illi initium magistratuum, et integra, quæ supersint. Multum ante secum expenderet, quod, tali in tempore, capessendæ reipublicæ iter ingrederetur.'[t] Ceterum ipse, an venire in senatum deceret, meditationi suæ reliquit.

27. At postera luce, duæ prætoriæ cohortes armatæ templum Genetricis Veneris[u] insedere. Aditum senatus globus togatorum obsederat, non occultis gladiis: dispersique per fora ac basilicas cunei militares; inter quorum aspectus et minas ingressi curiam senatores: et oratio Principis per quæstorem ejus audita[v] est. Nemine nominatim compellato, patres arguebat, 'quod publica munia desererent, eorumque exemplo equites Romani ad segnitiam verterentur. Etenim, quid mirum e longinquis provinciis haud veniri,[x] cum plerique, adepti con-

[s] *Per imm. Augusti*] A passage altogether corrupt. I imagine we should read *per imm. intentarent.*

[t] *Iter ingr.*] He was toiling on the arduous road of virtue, when he was killed by Domitian: Agr. 45.

[u] *Gen. Ven.*] In the eighth district of the city, and the Forum of Julius Cæsar. The verses of Lucretius, i, 1. are well known: 'Æneadum genetrix, hominum Divumque voluptas, Alma Venus,' &c.

[v] *Per—aud.*] i. e. recited. The emperors had their quæstors, of whom Ulpian, Digest. Lib. i, T. 13, de officiis Quæstoris. 'Non omnes quæstores provincias sortiebantur, verum excepti erant candidati Principis: hi etenim solis libris principalibus in senatu legendis vacant.' And a little after: 'Ex his, sicuti diximus, quidam sunt, qui candidati Principis dicebantur, quique epistolas ejus in senatu legunt.' In the old inscriptions they are called QVAEST. AVG. i. e. 'quæstores Augusti.' This custom was introduced by Augustus: for '[filiæ suæ luxuriam] absens, ac libello per quæstorem recitato, [notam] senatui fecit, abstinuitque congressu hominum diu præ pudore.' Suet. Aug. 65. See also Campian. de offic. et potest. magistrat. Rom. p. 201, 202.

[x] *Haud veniri*] What wonder if

sulatum et sacerdotia, hortorum potius amœnitati inservirent?' quod velut telum arripuere accusatores.

28. Et initium faciente Cossutiano, majore vi Marcellus, 'summam rempublicam agi,' clamitabat: 'contumacia inferiorum lenitatem imperitantis deminui. Nimium mites ad eam diem patres, qui Thraseam desciscentem, qui generum ejus, Helvidium Priscum,[y] in iisdem furoribus, simul Paconium Agrippinum, paterni in Principes odii[z] hæredem, et Curtium Montanum,[a] detestanda carmina factitantem, eludere impune sinerent. Requirere se in senatu consularem, in votis sacerdotem, in jurejurando civem: nisi, contra instituta et cærimonias majorum, proditorem palam et hostem Thrasea induisset. Denique agere senatorem, et Principis obtrectatores protegere solitus, veniret, censeret quid corrigi aut mutari vellet: facilius perlaturos singula increpantem, quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis. Pacem illi per orbem terræ,[b] an victorias sine damno exercituum, displicere? Ne hominem, bonis publicis mœstum, et qui fora, theatra, templa pro solitudine haberet,[c] qui minitaretur exilium suum, ambitionis pravæ compotem facerent. Non

there was no attendance from the provinces to the aid of the state; since the generality of such as were consuls and priests thought more of the beauty of their villas than the interests of the country?

[y] *Helv. Priscum*] Hist. iv, 42. See also Plin, Ep. iii, 11.

[z] *Pat.—odii*] M. Paconius, father of Paconius Agrippinus, fell, though innocent, by the cruelty of Tiberius, on a charge of treason; as is related below. His end is thus related by Sueton. Tib. 61. 'Annalibus suis vir consularis inseruit, frequenti quondam convivio, cui et ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum subito et clare a quodam nano, adstante mensæ inter copreas, cur Paconius, majestatis reus, tamdiu viveret; statim quamdam petulantiam linguæ objurgasse, ceterum post paucos dies scripsisse senatui, ut de pœna Paconii quamprimum statueret.'

[a] *Curtium Montanum*] Hist. iv, 42.

[b] *Pacem—terræ*] On the finishing of the Armenian war, as if the whole world were reduced to a state of peace, Nero shut the temple of Janus; and a large brass coin was struck, which was formerly in the Museum of the College of Louis XIV. IMP. NERO CLAVD. CAES. GERM. P. M. TR. P. XIII. P. P. Nero's head is adorned with laurel. On the reverse, PACE PR. TERRA MARIQVE PARTA IANVM CLVSIT SC. i. e. 'Imperator Nero Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunitiæ potestatis anno XIII. pater patriæ, pace populi Romani terra marique parta, Janum clusit, senatusconsulto.'

[c] *Pro sol. hab.*] Seldom to be seen in the forum, the theatre, or the temples, and threatening to retire from the city. He acknowleges none of your laws, he owns none of your magistrates, and Rome is not Rome to him. Let him then be cut off from a city, from which as he had formerly estranged his affections, so he has withdrawn his look. *Pro sol. hab.*, as Huet rightly explains, 'tam raro frequentaret, quam solitudo frequentari solet.'

illi consulta hæc, non magistratus aut Romanam urbem videri. Abrumperet vitam ab ea civitate, cujus caritatem olim, nunc et aspectum exuisset.'

29. Cum per hæc atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus et minax, voce, vultu, oculis ardesceret; non illa nota et celebritate periculorum sueta jam senatus mœstitia, sed novus et altior pavor, manus et tela militum cernentibus: simul ipsius Thraseæ venerabilis species obversabatur: et erant qui 'Helvidium quoque' miserarentur, 'innoxiæ adfinitatis pœnas daturum. Quid Agrippino objectum, nisi tristem patris fortunam? quando et ille, perinde innocens, Tiberii sævitia concidisset. Enimvero Montanum, probæ juventæ, neque famosi carminis,[d] quia protulerit ingenium, extorrem agi.'

30. Atque interim Ostorius Sabinus, Sorani accusator, ingreditur, orditurque 'de amicitia Rubellii Plauti,[e] quodque proconsulatum Asiæ Soranus pro claritate, sibi potius accommodatum, quam ex utilitate communi egisset, alendo seditiones civitatum.'[f] Vetera hæc: sed recens discrimini patris filiam connectebat,[g] 'quod pecuniam Magis dilargita esset.' Acciderat sane pietate Serviliæ, (id nomen puellæ fuit) quæ, caritate erga parentem, simul imprudentia ætatis, non tamen aliud consultaverat, quam 'de incolumitate domus, et an placabilis Nero, an cognitio senatus nihil atrox adferret.' Igitur accita est in senatum, steteruntque diversi ante tribunal consulum: grandis ævo parens; contra filia, intra vicesimum ætatis

[d] *Fam. carm.*] He was banished, not for writing an infamous song, but because he had exhibited proofs of talent. Afterwards, as it seems, becoming not a better man, but more acceptable to the emperor, he gave that opinion concerning the turbot and the dish, which is described by Juvenal, iv, 136. 'Vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille Luxuriam imperii veterem, noctesque Neronis Jam medias, aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno Arderet: nulli major fuit usus edendi Tempestate mea.' Hence the wonderful belly of the man. Juv. iv, 107. 'Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.'

[e] *Amicitia Rub. Pl.*] ch. 23.

[f] *Sedit. civ.*] By *seditiones* he means 'vim civitatis Pergamenæ, prohibentis Acratum, Cæsaris libertum, statuas et picturas avehere, [quam] inultam omiserat,' as was said in ch. 23.

[g] *Connect.*] As stated by the informer Eguatius. This we learn from the Vet. Schol. Juvenal. vi, 551. 'Faciet, quod deferat ipse.' Schol. 'Hic Egnatium philosophum significat, qui filiam Bareæ Sorani, quam cum ipse ad magicam, (forte *magiam*, aut *magicen*) descendisse hortatus (corrige, *descendere esset hortatus*) detulit Neroni: ob quam rem mori cum patre jussa est a Nerone. Egnatium autem hic poeta ob delationem hanc ipsam sæpe lacerta (corrige, *lacerat*).'

annum, nuper marito Annio Pollione in exilium[h] pulso, viduata desolataque; ac ne patrem quidem intuens, cujus onerasse pericula videbatur.

31. Tum interrogante accusatore, 'an cultus[i] dotales, an detractum cervici monile venum dedisset, quo pecuniam faciendis magicis sacris contraheret?' primum strata humi, longoque fletu et silentio, post, altaria et aram[k] complexa; 'Nullos,' inquit, 'impios Deos, nullas devotiones, nec aliud infelicibus precibus invocavi, quam ut hunc optimum patrem tu, Cæsar, vos, patres, servaretis incolumem. Sic gemmas, et vestes, et dignitatis insignia dedi, quomodo, si sanguinem et vitam poposcissent. Viderint isti, antehac mihi ignoti, quo nomine sint, quas artes exerceant: nulla mihi Principis mentio, nisi inter numina fuit. Nescit tamen miserrimus pater: et, si crimen est, sola deliqui.'

32. Loquentis adhuc verba excipit Soranus, proclamatque: 'non illam in provinciam[l] secum profectam, non Plauto[m] per ætatem nosci potuisse: non criminibus mariti[n] connexam: nimiæ tantum pietatis ream separarent; atque ipse quamcumque sortem subiret.' Simul in amplexus occurrentis filiæ ruebat, nisi interjecti lictores utrisque obstitissent. Mox datus testibus locus: et, quantum misericordiæ sævitia accusationis permoverat, tantum iræ P. Egnatius[o] testis concivit. Cliens hic Sorani, et tunc emtus ad opprimendum amicum, auctoritatem Stoicæ sectæ præferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam et libidinem occultans. Quæ postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum præcavendi,[p] quomodo fraudibus involutos aut flagitiis

[h] *In exil.*] For conspiracy: A. xv, 71. Pollio was rather aspersed than convicted.

[i] *An c.*] *An* for 'annon.' See A. iv, 35.

[k] *Alt. et aram*] Of Venus Genetrix, in whose temple the senate then was, as is clear from ch. 27.

[l] *Illam in pr.*] That Servilia had not gone with him into Asia.

[m] *Plauto*] Rubellius Plautus.

[n] *Mariti*] Annius Pollio.

[o] *P. Egnatius*] Of whom Juvenal writes indignantly, iii, 115. 'Audi facinus majoris abollæ. Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum, Discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa, Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.' See H. iv, 10.

[p] *Exempl. præcav.*] After the vices of the perfidious client were revealed by bribery, he gave a lesson to the world, that men who assume virtue and friendship are as much objects of caution as the openly profligate.

commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos et amicitiæ fallaces.

33. Idem tamen dies et honestum exemplum tulit Cassii Asclepiodoti, qui, magnitudine opum præcipuus inter Bithynos, quo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labantem non deseruit: exutusque omnibus fortunis, et in exilium[q] actus, æquitate Deum[r] erga bona malaque documenta. Thraseæ Soranoque et Serviliæ datur mortis arbitrium: Helvidius et Paconius Italia depelluntur: Montanus patri concessus est, prædicto ne in republica[s] haberetur: accusatoribus, Eprio et Cossutiano, quinquagies sestertium[t] singulis; Ostorio duodecies[u] et quæstoria insignia tribuuntur.

34. Tum ad Thraseam, in hortis agentem, quæstor consulis[v] missus, vesperascente jam die. Inlustrium virorum fœminarumque cœtus frequentes egerat, maxime intentus Demetrio,[x] Cynicæ institutionis doctori; cum quo, ut conjectare erat intentione vultus, et auditu, si qua clarius proloquebantur, de natura animæ et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat: donec advenit Domitius Cæcilianus, ex intimis amicis, et ei, quid senatus censuisset, exposuit.

[q] *In exil.*] Afterwards recalled by Galba. Dio, lxii, p. 714.

[r] *Æq. D.*] The gods justly gave examples of each; (as Petavius rightly explains it) that of piety and constancy in Asclepiodotus, and that of perfidy and wickedness in Egnatius. The same equity of the gods was manifested, when Nero and the senate became famous for their crimes, and Thrasea, Soranus, Servilia, and others for their virtues. Tacitus perpetually represents evil as mixed with good. Thus, when in H. i, 2. he had mentioned many crimes, he adds: 'Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.'

[s] *Ne in republ.*] That he should not be allowed to hold any magistracy or public office.

[t] *Quinq. sest.*] 41,666*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

[u] *Duodecies*] 10,000*l*.

[v] *Quæstor cons.*] Of the emperors' quæstors we have spoken in ch. 27. The consuls also had their quæstors. App. Claudius and Caius Norbanus were the first consuls who had each two quæstors, A.U.C. 716. as we learn from Dio, xlviii, p. 383.

[x] *Demetrio*] Δημήτριος, ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἅπαν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος, Philostr. Vit. Apollon. iv, 25. He is admirably called by Seneca, Ep. xx. 'non præceptor veri, sed testis.' This wrestler with all the desires of nature is eulogised by him in many places, and more particularly in lib. de Benef. vii, 8. 'Paulo ante Demetrium retuli; quem mihi videtur rerum natura nostris tulisse temporibus, ut ostenderet, nec illum a nobis corrumpi, nec nos ab ullo corrigi posse: virum exactæ (licet neget ipse) sapientiæ; firmæque in his, quæ proposuit, constantiæ: eloquentiæ vero ejus, quæ res fortissimas deceat, non concinnatæ, nec in verba solicitæ, sed ingenti animo, prout impetus tulit, res suas prosequentis. Huic non dubito, quin providentia et talem vitam et talem dicendi facultatem dederit, ne aut exemplum seculo nostro, aut convicium deesset.'

Igitur flentes queritantesque, qui aderant, 'facessere propere' Thrasea, 'neu pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati,' hortatur: Arriamque, tentantem mariti suprema et exemplum Arriæ matris sequi, monet, 'retinere vitam, filiæque communi subsidium unicum non adimere.'

35. Tum progressus in porticum, illic a quæstore[y] reperitur, lætitiæ propior, quia Helvidium, generum suum, Italia tantum arceri cognoverat. Accepto dehinc senatusconsulto, Helvidium et Demetrium in cubiculum inducit: porrectisque utriusque brachii venis,[z] postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, propius vocato quæstore, 'Libemus,' inquit, 'Jovi Liberatori. Specta, juvenis: et omen quidem Dii prohibeant; ceterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis.' Post, lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus adferente, obversis in Demetrium . . . . .

[*The rest is lost.*]

y *A quæst.*] Of the consul.

z *Utr. br. venis*] In mentioning the death of Thrasea, Suetonius says, Ner. 37. 'Mori jussis non amplius quam horarium spatium dabat: ac ne quid moræ interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes continuo curarent: ita enim vocabat venas mortis gratia incidere.'

C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIÆ.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CHAP. 1. Preface to the History—2. Summary view of the whole work; state of the city, the armies, and the provinces—6. Galba's court, and the reigning vices—8. Condition of Spain, Gaul, the Upper and Lower Germany, Syria, Egypt, and Africa; the war against the Jews conducted by Vespasian—12. Revolt of the legions in Upper Germany; Galba consults about the choice of a successor; different opinions among his ministers, Vinius, Laco, and Icelus, one of his freedmen; Otho has hopes of the nomination—14. Choice of Piso for the succession—15. Galba's speech on the occasion; he declares his adoption of Piso in the camp and in the senate; ill-timed severity of Galba; an embassy to the German legions—21. Otho plans a revolution; he corrupts the prætorian guards; two common soldiers undertake to dispose of the sovereignty; Otho proclaimed emperor—29. Galba, in the mean time, employed in a sacrifice in the capitol; Piso's speech to the soldiers—37. Otho harangues the prætorians in the camp—40. The prætorians rush into the city; Galba murdered—42. Death of Titus Vinius; the constancy of a centurion; Piso put to death; Otho received with adulation by the senate and the people—46. All things directed by the soldiers; numbers executed; Marius Celsus saved by the artifice of Otho—48. Characters of Piso and Titus Vinius—49. Character of Galba—50. Vitellius, before Galba's death, aims at the sovereignty—51. Origin of the revolt among the German legions; Vitellius saluted emperor; he sends two armies to invade Italy, one under Fabius Valens, and the other under Cæcina; Vitellius follows with a third army; his excessive luxury and stupidity; the cruelty and rapine of Valens and Cæcina—63. The Gauls, partly through fear and partly from inclination, swear fidelity to Vitellius—64. Valens on his march hears of the death of Galba—67. Cæcina attacks the Helvetians, and lays waste the country; he passes over the Penine mountains into Italy—71. Otho's conduct at Rome; he begins to act with vigor—72. Death of Tigellinus, and his character—74. Letters between Otho and Vitellius; they endeavor to overreach each other; emissaries employed by both; the people of Sarmatia invade the province of Mœsia, and are put to the rout with great slaughter—

80. An insurrection of the soldiers at Rome—83. Otho's speech to the soldiers—86. Portents and prodigies spread a general alarm at Rome—87. Otho consults about the operations of the war; he appoints his generals, and sends his fleet to invade the Narbon Gaul—89. Melancholy condition of the people at Rome; Otho proceeds on his expedition against the Vitellian forces, and leaves his brother, Salvius Titianus, chief governor of Rome.

These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
822	69	Servius Galba, second time; Titus Vinius Rufinus.

1. [A.U.C. 822. J.C. 69.] INITIUM mihi operis Ser. Galba iterum, T. Vinius consules[a] erunt: nam, post conditam Urbem, octingentos et viginti prioris ævi annos multi auctores retulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate. Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem[b] ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere: simul veritas pluribus modis infracta; primum inscitia reipublicæ ut alienæ, mox libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes: ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios.[c] Sed ambitionem scriptoris[d] facile adverseris;[e] obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius, nec beneficio nec injuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam,[f] a Tito auctam,[g] a Domitiano longius provectam,[h] non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervæ[i] et imperium Trajani, uberiorem securioremque[k] materiam, senectuti seposui: rara tempo-

[a] *T. Vinius coss.*] Servius Sulpicius Galba Cæsar for the second time, and Titus Vinius Rufinus, entered on the consulate, A.U.C. 822. J.C. 69.

[b] *Omnem potestatem*] Perhaps *omnium potentiam*.

[c] *Obnoxios*] To the emperors: hunters after wealth and honors.

[d] *Amb. script.*] Courting the prince by flattery.

[e] *Adverseris*] Rather perhaps *averseris*.

[f] *Inchoatam*] By the office of vigintivir.

[g] *Auctam*] By the quæstorship and the military tribunate.

[h] *Provectam*] Being presented under the emperor Domitian with the quindecimviral priesthood, and being prætor, as was stated in A. xi, 11.

[i] *Divi Nervæ*] Tacitus therefore wrote his Histories, when Nerva was now in his apotheosis.

[k] *Ub. secur.*] Huet well explains this passage: '*Uberiorem*, quod rerum sub iis actarum, utpote recentiorum, peritior esset: *securiorem*, quod sub iis res sensusque suos vulgare tutius fuerit, ac propterea certius eas cognosceret.'

rum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.

2. Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. Quatuor Principes[m] ferro interemti: tria bella civilia,[n] plura externa ac plerumque permixta:[o] prosperæ in Oriente, adversæ in Occidente res: turbatum Illyricum: Galliæ nutantes: perdomita Britannia[p] et statim missa: coortæ in nos Sarmatarum[q] ac Suevorum gentes: nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus:[r] mota etiam prope Parthorum arma, falsi Neronis[s] ludibrio. Jam vero Italia novis cladibus, vel post longam seculorum seriem[t] repetitis, adflicta: haustæ aut obrutæ urbes,[u] fœcundissima Campaniæ ora; et Urbs incendiis vastata,[v] consumtis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso:[x] pollutæ cærimoniæ: magna adulteria: plenum exiliis mare:[y] infecti cædibus scopuli.[z] Atrocius in Urbe sævitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. Nec minus præmia delatorum invisa, quam scelera; cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus, ut spolia, adepti, procurationes alii et

[m] *Quatuor Principes*] Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian.

[n] *Civilia*] Of Vitellius against Otho, of Vespasian against Vitellius, of L. Antony against Domitian.

[o] *Permixta*] So that at one and the same time both civil and foreign wars were carried on.

[p] *Britannia*] Conquered by Agricola in the reign of Domitian, and soon after neglected and forgotten.

[q] *Sarmatarum*] See A. xii, 29.

[r] *Dacus*] Of the Dacian wars much will be said hereafter, particularly in the reign of Trajan.

[s] *Falsi N.*] H. ii, 8.

[t] *Seculorum s.*] Tacitus intimates that Vesuvius had already made itself heard. Colonne is of a different opinion, but is justly opposed by Banier, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions, vol. ix, p. 15.: and Banier's view is supported by Val. Flacc. Arg. iv, 507. 'Sic ubi prærupti tonuit cum forte Vesevi Hesperiæ lethalis apex; vix dum ignea montem Torsit hyems, jamque Æœas cinis induit urbes.' That the Argonautics indeed were dedicated to Vespasian, when Titus was besieging Jerusalem, seems certain: but perhaps they were not immediately published intire. What he brings from Silius Italicus, is uncertain, since Italicus wrote his poem after Nero's death: but, what Banier could not know, and what is an evident proof that the conflagrations of Vesuvius are of an older date, is that lately there have been found in the towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii roads strewed with lava. This lava was also found on the walls of the houses, as may be seen in Winckelmann, Lettre sur les Découvertes d'Herculaneum, p. 13, 14.

[u] *Urbes*] Among which were Herculaneum and Pompeii.

[v] *Inc. vast.*] As happened, particularly in the reign of Titus, when almost the whole of the ninth district of the city was on fire.

[x] *Incenso*] By the partisans of Vitellius: H. iii, 67. 71.

[y] *Mare*] Exiles were usually banished to islands.

[z] *Scopuli*] Which were often stained with the blood of the more hated exiles.

interiorem potentiam,[a] agerent, ferrent cuncta. Odio et terrore[b] corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.[c] Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.

3. Comitatæ profugos liberos matres: secutæ maritos in exilia conjuges: propinqui audentes: constantes generi: contumax, etiam adversus tormenta, servorum fides: supremæ clarorum virorum necessitates; ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata; et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. Præter multiplices rerum humanarum casus, cœlo terraque prodigia, et fulminum monitus et futurorum præsagia, læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta: nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus, magisve justis indiciis approbatum est, non esse curæ Deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.[d]

4. Ceterum, antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status Urbis, quæ mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid ægrum fuerit; ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt,[e] sed ratio etiam causæque[f]

[a] *Int. potent.*] When they were admitted into the secrets and the ministry of the emperors.

[b] *Odio et t.*] Huet well explains this: '*Odio*, quod adversus dominos susceperant; *terrore*, quem sciebant se dominis incussuros.'

[c] *Per am. oppr.*] This horrible state of things existed chiefly in the reign of Domitian, and was intirely put an end to by Trajan. Hence Pliny, in Panegyr. 42. 'Reddita est amicis fides, liberis pietas, obsequium servis: verentur, et parent, et dominos habent. Non enim jam servi Principis nostri amici, sed nos sumus: nec pater patriæ alienis se mancipiis cariorem quam civibus suis credit. Omnes accusatore domestico liberasti, unoque salutis publicæ signo illud (ut sic dixerim) servile bellum sustulisti, in quo non minus servis quam dominis præstitisti: hos enim securos, illos bonos fecisti.'

[d] *Ultionem*] A horrible idea. God is not a malignant being, but bears with crime, and at length punishes it. Tacitus seems to have imitated Lucan, Phars. iv, 107. 'Felix Roma quidem, civesque habitura beatos, Si libertatis superis tam cura placeret, Quam vindicta placet.' And so Cic. N. Deor. iii, 32. &c. The wisest of the ancients gave in to this impiety, as they were overwhelmed by the evil in the world, and had no hope of the reward of patient endurance.

[e] *Fortuiti sunt*] Perhaps they seem so to men, who do not look into the causes of things. Huet also explains it, 'generally unexpected and unforeseen:' for, as nothing takes place without a cause, events are fortuitous, not in themselves, but as far as we are concerned.

[f] *Ratio—causæque*] This is history: but the rest is trifling, and a mere burden to the memory. Sempronius Asellio, who was an actor in and a writer of the Numantine war, well observes: 'Scribere bellum, quo initum consule, et quo modo confectum sit, et quis triumphans introierit, et quæ in eo bello gesta sint iterare; non prædicare autem interea quid senatus decreverit, aut quæ lex rogatiove

noscantur. Finis Neronis ut lætus, primo gaudentium impetu, fuerat, ita varios motus animorum, non modo in Urbe apud patres, aut populum, aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque conciverat; evulgato imperii arcano, posse Principem alibi quam Romæ fieri. Sed patres læti, usurpata statim libertate, licentius, ut erga Principem [g] novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra, [h] et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum, in spem erecti: plebs sordida, et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui, adesis bonis, per dedecus Neronis alebantur, mœsti et rumorum avidi.

5. Miles urbanus, [i] longo Cæsarum sacramento imbutus, et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum, [k] sub nomine Galbæ promissum, neque magnis meritis ac præmiis eumdem in pace, quem in bello, locum, præventamque gratiam intelligit apud Principem a legionibus factum; pronus ad novas res, scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini, præfecti, [l] imperium sibi molientis, agitatur. Et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu oppressus: sed, quamvis capite defectionis ablato, manebat plerisque militum conscientia; nec deerant sermones, 'senium atque avaritiam Galbæ' increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama [m] celebrata severitas ejus angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita quatuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia Principum amarent, quam

lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint; id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere. — Nobis non modo satis esse video quod factum esset id pronuntiare, sed etiam quo consilio, quaque ratione gesta essent demonstrare.' Gell. iii, 18.

[g] *Principem*] Galba.

[h] *Integra*] *Pars p. i.* i.e. not yet corrupted by vices; *et magn. dom. adn.* and therefore men of credit and of some property, as well as *clientes libertique damn. et exulum, erecti in spem*, sc. of a prosperous and benignant government. Huet explains it rather differently: '*Pars populi integra*, i.e. pars populi, quæ Neronis sævitiam aut liberalitatem experta non fuerat, et optimates affinitate contingebat, iis assentiebatur.'

[i] *Mil. urb.*] And particularly the prætorian troops.

[k] *Donativum*] An immense largess promised by Nymphidius in the name of Galba.

[l] *Præfecti*] Of the prætorian troops.

[m] *Mil. fama*] This is illustrated by Suet. Galb. 6. 'A Caio Cæsare, [Caligula,] Gætulico substitutus [Galba,] postridie quam ad legiones venit, solemni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit, data tessera, ut manus pœnulis continerent. Statim per castra jactatum est: Disce miles militare: Galba est, non Gætulicus.' This Gætulicus is Lentulus Gætulicus, lieutenant of Upper Germany, 'effusæ clementiæ, modicus severitate,' as was said in A. vi, 30.

olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbæ vox, pro republica honesta, ipsi anceps, 'legi a se militem, non emi:' nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.

6. Invalidum senem T. Vinius[n] et Cornelius Laco,[o] alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum onerabant, contemtu inertiæ destruebant. Tardum Galbæ iter et cruentum, interfectis Cingonio Varrone, consule designato, et Petronio Turpiliano, consulari: ille, ut Nymphidii socius, hic, ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque indefensi, tamquam innocentes, perierant. Introitus in Urbem, trucidatis tot millibus inermium militum, infaustus omine, atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus. Inducta legione Hispana,[p] remanente ea, quam e classe[q] Nero conscripserat, plena Urbs exercitu insolito: multi ad hoc numeri[r] e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero, electos præmissosque ad claustra Caspiarum,[s] et bellum quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis cœptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata.[t]

7. Forte congruerat, ut Clodii Macri et Fonteii Capitonis cædes nuntiarentur. Macrum, in Africa haud dubie turbantem, Trebonius Garucianus, procurator, jussu Galbæ; Capitonem in Germania, cum similia cœptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens, legati legionum, interfecerant antequam juberentur. Fuere qui crederent, Capitonem, ut avaritia et libidine fœdum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed a legatis, bellum suadentibus, postquam impellere nequiverint, cri-

[n] *T. Vinius*] Now consul.

[o] *Corn. Laco*] After Nymphidius, the prefect of the prætorian bands.

[p] *Leg. Hisp.*] Which on his return from Spain accompanied him on his journey.

[q] *Quam e classe*] See H. i, 31. 37.

[r] *Multi—num.*] 'Numeri' are soldiers belonging to the ranks: 'tirones' are such as are not yet ranked. See A. ii, 78. 80.

[s] *Ad—Casp.*] Nero had threatened to go to the Portæ Caspiæ: but he really went to the Portæ Iberiæ or Caucasiæ. Hence Plin. vi, 13. 'Corrigendus est error in hoc loco multorum, eorum etiam qui in Armenia res proxime cum Corbulone gessere: namque hi Caspias appellavere portas Iberiæ, quas Caucasias diximus vocari: situsque depicti et inde missi, hoc nomen inscriptum habent: et Neronis Principis comminatio ad Caspias portas tendere dicebatur: cum peteret illas, quæ per Iberiam in Sarmatas tendunt, vix ullo propter oppositos montes aditu ad Caspium mare.' 'Claustra Caspiarum' is consequently what is now *Teflis*. See A. vi, 33.

[t] *Aud. par.*] So great a quantity of soldiers was a mighty *matériel* for a rebellion: for they were not attached to any particular individual, but were ready to put themselves under the command of every bold man who would invite them.

men ac dolum compositum ultro: et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an, ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque cædes sinistre accepta: et inviso semel Principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt. Jam adferebant venalia cuncta præpotentes liberti: servorum manus subitis avidæ,[u] et, tamquam apud senem, festinantes: eademque novæ aulæ[v] mala, æque gravia, non æque excusata. Ipsa ætas[x] Galbæ et inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuetis juventæ Neronis, et Imperatores forma ac decore corporis (ut est mos vulgi) comparantibus.

8. Et hic quidem Romæ, tamquam in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit. E provinciis, Hispaniæ[y] præerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus[z] et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. Galliæ,[a] super memoriam Vindicis, obligatæ recenti dono[b] Romanæ civitatis, et in posterum tributi levamento:[c] proximæ tamen Germanis exercitibus Galliarum civitates,[d] non eodem honore habitæ, quædam etiam finibus ademtis,[e] pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas injurias metiebantur. Germani exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati superbia recentis victoriæ,[f] et metu, tamquam alias partes[g] fovissent. Tarde a

[u] *Sub. av.*] No one is more avaricious than slaves, who have come to any sudden good fortune.

[v] *Novæ a.*] Of Galba.

[x] *Ipsa ætas*] Galba was seventy-three years old. See Plut. Galb. p. 1056.

[y] *Hispaniæ*] Tarraconensis, or Hither Spain.

[z] *Vir fac.*] He was an historian, and Pliny states of him a circumstance, which does no discredit to Cluvius, and is worthy of Verginius, Ep. ix, 19. 'Ita cum [Verginio] aliquando Cluvium locutum: Scis, Vergini, quæ historiæ fides debeatur: proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velles, rogo ignoscas. Ad hoc sic illum: Cluvi, næ tu ignoras, ideo me fecisse quod feci, ut esset liberum vobis scribere quæ licuisset.'

[a] *Galliæ*] A part of the Galliæ, viz. the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni, who had taken the side of Vindex.

[b] *Rec. dono*] The chief persons of Gaul had obtained already the freedom of Rome, as was stated in A. xi. 23. but now not only these, but all the Gauls, who had taken the part of Vindex, and had laid the foundation of the fortunes of Galba, were laid under an obligation by the recent presentation of the freedom of Rome, and by their relief from tribute for the future. That this, however, did not proceed from the benignity of the emperor, but that it was purchased from T. Vinius, we learn from Plut. Galb. p. 1060. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Ὀβιννίου τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν, καὶ πολιτείας.

[c] *Trib. lev.*] 'Quarta tributorum parte:' ch. 51.

[d] *Gall. civ.*] The Lingones, the Remi, and the people nearest to the Rhine.

[e] *Fin. ademtis*] A part of their lands being taken away, and given to others: ch. 53.

[f] *Rec. vict.*] When Vindex was vanquished.

[g] *Alias partes*] Of Nero.

Nerone desciverant; nec statim pro Galba Verginius: an imperare voluisset, dubium; delatum ei a milite imperium, conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum, etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur. Dux deerat, abducto Verginio[h] per simulationem amicitiæ; quem non remitti, atque etiam reum esse, tamquam suum crimen accipiebant.

9. Superior exercitus legatum, Hordeonium Flaccum,[i] spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum[k] invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate: ne quieto quidem milite, regimen; adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. Inferioris Germaniæ legiones diutius sine consulari[l] fuere; donec, missu Galbæ, A. Vitellius aderat,[m] censoris Vitellii, ac ter consulis, filius: id satis videbatur.[n] In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sane aliæ legiones, per omnes civilium bellorum motus, innocentius egerunt; seu, quia procul et Oceano divisæ; seu crebris expeditionibus doctæ hostem potius odisse. Quies et Illyrico; quamquam excitæ[o] a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus adissent:[p] sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad

[h] *Abd. V.*] Who fell in with Galba on his return from Spain, and was most illiberally treated as a criminal.

[i] *Hord. Fl.*] Flaccus had succeeded Verginius.

[k] *Deb. ped.*] Ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώματι, Plut. Galb. p. 1061.

[l] *Sine cons.*] By the death of Fonteius Capito.

[m] *A. Vit. ad.*] Aulus Vitellius, afterwards emperor, the son of Vitellius, who had been censor and three times consul. He is often mentioned above, and particularly in the Annals, xi. xii. xiv.

[n] *Satis videbatur*] We ought not to read, as many have imagined, *fatis videbatur*, as if they had pointed out A. Vitellius as destined to the empire. *Satis videbatur* is a fine expression. It was thought by Galba sufficient for his security to set Hordeonius Flaccus, a gouty man, over Upper Germany, and A. Vitellius, a terrible glutton, over Lower Germany. Hence Sueton. Vitell. 7. 'A Galba in inferiorem Germaniam contra opinionem missus est [Vitellius]. Adjutum putant Titi Vinii suffragio, tunc potentissimi, et cui jampridem per communem factionis Venetæ favorem conciliatus esset: nisi quod Galba præ se tulit, nullos minus metuendos, quam qui de solo victu cogitarent, ac posse provincialibus copiis profundam ejus expleri gulam, ut cuivis evidens sit, contemtu magis quam gratia electum. Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romæ relinquebat, meritorio cœnaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocarit; utque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit ad itineris impensas.'

[o] *Excitæ*] Which Nero had called out, when preparing his expedition against the Albanians; and had afterwards recalled to overwhelm Vindex: ch. 6.

[p] *Adissent*] And had offered him the empire.

continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur.

10. Oriens adhuc immotus. Syriam et quatuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus,[a] vir secundis adversisque juxta famosus. Insignes amicitias juvenis ambitiose coluerat: mox, attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiæ[b] repositus, tam prope[c] ab exule fuit, quam postea a Principe. Luxuria, industria, comitate, arrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus: nimiæ voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnæ virtutes: palam laudares, secreta male audiebant; sed apud subjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas, variis inlecebris potens; et cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium, quam obtinere. Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus[e] administrabat. Nec Vespasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus: quippe Titum, filium, ad venerationem cultumque ejus miserat, ut suo loco memorabimus.[f]. Occulta lege fati, et ostentis ac responsis[g] destinatum Vespasiano liberisque ejus imperium, post fortunam credidimus.

11. Ægyptum copiasque, quibus coerceretur, jam inde a divo Augusto, equites Romani[h] obtinent loco regum. Ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonæ fœcundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem,[i] insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum, domi reti-

[a] *Lic. Muc.*] And then procured a coin to be struck, which is in the King's Museum, and has been published by Harduin, Select. Opp. p. 637. IMP. SER. SVL. GALBAE. 'Imperatori Servio Sulpicio Galbæ:' the head is wreathed with laurel. At the back, in laurel, ΕΠΙ ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ, 'under Mucianus,' governor of Syria; and the inscription ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. ΕΤ. ΖΙΡ. 'of the Antiochians in the year CXVII.' which began in the autumn of the preceding year.

[b] *Secr. A.*] Being sent as lieutenant into Lycia, as we may conjecture from Plin. xii, 1. There he found that plane-tree, described as 'nemorosam vertice,' within which he dined 'cum duodevicesimo comite.'

[c] *Tam prope*] Now nearly an exile, afterwards nearly a prince.

[e] *Tribus leg.*] Rather, *quatuor*, viz. V. X. XII. XV.

[f] *Memorabimus*] H. ii, 1.

[g] *Ostentis ac responsis*] H. ii, 78.

[h] *Eq. Rom.*] All were forbidden also, except senators or illustrious knights, to enter the land of Egypt, save by permission: see on A. ii, 59. and Strab. xvii, p. 548.

[i] *Mobilem*] And thus the emperor Adrian, when writing to the consul Servianus: 'Ægyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici, levem, pendulam, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem.— Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, injuriosissimum. Civitas, [Alexandria,] opulenta, dives, fœcunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta conficitur: alii linyphiones [*weavers*] sunt: omnes

nere.[k] Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander,[l] ejusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea,[m] interfecto Clodio Macro, contentæ qualicumque Principe, post experimentum domini minoris.[n] Duæ Mauretaniæ,[o] Rhætia, Noricum,[p] Thracia, et quæ aliæ procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinæ, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciæ,[q] atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessuræ erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Ser. Galba iterum, Titus Vinius, consules, inchoavere annum, sibi ultimum, reipublicæ prope supremum.

12. Paucis post Calendas Januarias diebus Pompeii Propinqui, procuratoris, e Belgica[r] literæ afferuntur: 'superioris Germaniæ legiones,[s] rupta sacramenti reverentia,[t] Imperatorem alium flagitare, et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere;' quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium Galbæ, jampridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat; primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa jam ætate Galbæ. Paucis judicium, aut reipublicæ amor: multi occulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in T. Vinii odium diverterant, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat. Quippe hiantes, in magna for-

certe cujuscumque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent: habent cæci quod faciant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt.' Vopisc. in Saturnin. viii.

[k] *Domi ret.*] To prevent it from forming any plans derived from abroad, and that there should be no materials for revolution.

[l] *Tib. Alex.*] Who seems to be the same person as that mentioned in A. xv, 28.

[m] *Ac leg. in ea*] These words are perhaps superfluous.

[n] *Dom. min.*] Clodius Macer, more rapacious and cruel than any emperor.

[o] *Duæ M.*] Caligula had divided Mauretania into two provinces.

[p] *Rhætia, Noricum*] Now *the Grisons* and *Bavaria*.

[q] *Inerm. pr.*] In which there were no military garrisons.

[r] *Belg.*] Belgic Gaul. 'A Scalde, [*the Scheldt*,] ad Sequanam, [*the Seine*,] Belgica,' Plin. iv, 17.

[s] *Legiones*] Commanded by Hordeonius Flaccus: ch. 9.

[t] *Reverentia*] Suet. Galb. 16. 'Maxime fremebat superioris Germaniæ exercitus, fraudari se præmiis navatæ adversus Gallos et Vindicem operæ. Ergo primi obsequium rumpere ausi, Kalendis Januarii adigi sacramento, nisi in nomen senatus, recusarunt: statimque legationem ad prætorianos cum mandatis destinaverunt, displicere Imperatorem in Germania factum; eligerent ipsi, quem cuncti exercitus comprobarent.' See also Plut. Galb. p. 1062.

tuna, amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbæ facilitas intendebat; cum apud infirmum et credulum minore metu et majore præmio peccaretur.

13. Potentia principatus divisa in T. Vinium, consulem, et Cornelium Laconem, prætorii præfectum: nec minor gratia Icelo, Galbæ liberto, quem annulis donatum,[u] equestri nomine Martianum vocitabant. Hi discordes, et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant, quam alium.[v] Neque erat Galbæ ignota Othonis ac T. Vinii amicitia; et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, (quia vidua Vinio filia, cœlebs Otho) gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et reipublicæ curam subisse,[a] frustra a Nerone translatæ, si apud Othonem relinqueretur: namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adolescentiam petulanter egerat; gratus Neroni æmulatione luxus: eoque jam Poppæam Sabinam,[b] principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem[c] amoliretur: mox suspectum in eadem Poppæa, in provinciam Lusitaniam, specie legationis, seposuit.[d] Otho, comiter administrata provincia, primus in partes transgressus, nec segnis, et, donec bellum fuit, inter præsentes splendidissimus, spem adoptionis, statim conceptam, acrius in dies rapiebat: faventibus plerisque militum; prona in eum aula Neronis, ut similem.

14. Sed Galba, post nuntios Germanicæ seditionis, quamquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio[e] certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii[f]

[u] *Annul. don.*] Freedmen were presented with gold rings together with the equestrian dignity: Plin. xxxiii, 2.

[v] *Quam al.*] There were those who supported Dolabella, as we learn from Plut. Galb. p. 1063.

[a] *Subisse*] The care of the government presented itself to Galba's attention. It had been in vain taken from Nero's hands, if it were left in Otho's.

[b] *P. Sab.*] Of whom more in A. xiii, 45. Why however he made a different representation concerning the passion of Otho and Poppæa, I have, I think, there given a probable cause.

[c] *Octav. uxorem*] See A. xiv, 59, 60.

[d] *Sepos.*] And set over Lusitania: A. xiii, 46.

[e] *Vitellio*] The lieutenant of Lower Germany: ch. 9.

[f] *Comitia imp.*] Private adoptions were made in the 'comitia,' before the priests: but Galba, to adopt a son and emperor, holds the

transigit: adhibitoque, super Vinium ac Laconem, Mario Celso,[g] consule designato, ac Ducennio Gemino,[h] præfecto Urbis, pauca præfatus 'de sua senectute, Pisonem Licinianum arcessi' jubet;[i] seu propria electione,[k] sive, ut quidam tradiderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum[l] exercita cum Pisone amicitia: sed callide, ut ignotum, fovebat; et prospera de Pisone fama consilio ejus fidem addiderat. Piso, M. Crasso et Scribonia[m] genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, et æstimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum ejus, quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat.

15. Igitur Galba, apprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc modum locutus fertur: 'Si te privatus lege curiata[n] apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem; et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompeii et M. Crassi sobolem[o] in penates meos adsciscere; et tibi insigne, Sulpiciæ ac Lutatiæ[p] decora nobilitati tuæ adjecisse. Nunc me, Deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium vocatum, præclara indoles tua et amor patriæ impulit, ut Principatum, de quo majores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus, quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium,[q] Marcellum, dein generum, Agrippam,[r] mox nepotes suos,[s] postremo

'comitia imperii' in the prætorian camp.

[g] *M. Celso*] Formerly lieutenant of the 15th legion. A. xv, 25.

[h] *Gemino*] A. xv, 18.

[i] *Arcessi jubet*] Suet. Galb. 17. '[Ut nuntiata est superioris Germaniæ exercitus defectio,] despectui esse non tam senectam suam, quam orbitatem ratus, Pisonem Frugi Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac sibi olim probatissimum, testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum, repente e media salutantium turba apprehendit; filiumque appellans, perduxit in castra, ac pro concione adoptavit.'

[k] *Propria electione*] Plut. Galb. p. 1063. is favorable to this view.

[l] *Plautum*] Of whom frequently in A. xiii. and xiv.

[m] *Scrib.*] Scribonia was of still more noble origin than Crassus.

[n] *Lege curiata*] See A. xi, 22.

[o] *Sobolem*] By his mother Scribonia, Piso was descended from Pompey the Great; by his father Crassus, from M. Crassus, the wealthiest of the Romans.

[p] *Sulp. ac Lut.*] Ser. Sulpicius Galba was on his father's side of the Sulpician family, on his mother's of the Lutatian. Hence, as we learn from Suet. Galb. 2 and 3. 'titulis [statuarum suarum] pronepotem Quinti Catuli Capitolini semper [adscripsit].' So also Plut. Galb. p. 1054. but for Κάτλου, we should read Κατούλου. The medals of Q. Catulus are represented among the Lutatian family by Vaillant, in his Nummi Antiq. Famil. Rom. vol. ii, p. 74. &c.

[q] *Sor. fil.*] Marcellus, son of Octavia, sister of Augustus. St. C. 16. 18.

[r] *Agrippam*] M. Vipsanius Agrippa. See St. C. 47.

[s] *Nepotes suos*] Caius and Lucius Cæsar. St. C. 48, 49.

Tiberium Neronem,[t] privignum, in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorem quæsivit, ego in republica; non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam; sed neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi: et judicii mei documentum sint non meæ tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuæ. Est tibi frater[u] pari nobilitate, natu major, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses. Ea ætas tua, quæ cupiditates adolescentiæ jam effugerit; ea vita, in qua nihil præteritum excusandum habeas. Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti;[v] secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem, libertatem,[x] amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis: sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Inrumpet adulatio, blanditiæ, pessimum veri affectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. Etiam ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur; ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum: nam suadere Principi quod oporteat, multi laboris; assentatio erga Principem quemcumque, sine affectu peragitur.

16. 'Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram, a quo respublica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis jampridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus juventa quam bonum Principem. Sub Tiberio et Caio et Claudio unius familiæ quasi hæreditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit, quod eligi cœpimus: et, finita Juliorum Claudiorumque domo, optimum quemque adoptio inveniet: nam generari et nasci a Principibus, fortuitum, nec ultra æstimatur: adoptandi judicium integrum;[y] et, si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. Sit ante

[t] *Tiberium Neronem*] Tiberius, emperor. See St. C. 68.

[u] *Frater*] Scribonianus: ch. 47.

[v] *Adv. tul.*] His father, mother, and brother were put to death by Claudius; another brother being put to death by Nero. Piso himself was long an exile: H. i, 48.

[x] *Fidem, lib.*] Boccalini censures Tacitus for reckoning good faith among the virtues of an emperor; since it belongs only to private persons, and emperors ought to be swayed merely by their views of utility. Such was the doctrine taught their princes by Boccalini and Machiavelli; but it becomes not Tacitus or the Roman emperor, with whom good faith formed the first and sacred chain and guard of authority. Hence we find so many inscriptions to Good Faith, and none to Perfidy, among the coins and the other remnants of antiquity.

[y] *Jud. integr.*] Of adopting and electing emperors and kings. Yet so erroneous is human judgment, that it has been discovered by long experience, that the majority of great and

oculos Nero, quem, longa Cæsarum serie tumentem, non Vindex cum inermi provincia,[z] aut ego cum una legione,[a] sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria, cervicibus publicis depulere: neque erat adhuc damnati Principis exemplum. Nos bello et ab æstimantibus adsciti, cum invidia, quamvis egregii, erimus. Ne tamen territus fueris, si duæ legiones[b] in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt: ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi; et, audita adoptione, desinam videri senex; quod nunc mihi unum objicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est, ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monere diutius, neque temporis hujus; et impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. Utilissimus idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare, quid aut volueris sub alio Principe, aut nolueris: neque enim hic, ut in ceteris gentibus, quæ regnantur, certa dominorum domus, et ceteri servi: sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt,[c] nec totam libertatem.' Et Galba quidem hæc ac talia, tamquam Principem faceret; ceteri tamquam cum facto loquebantur.

17. Pisonem, ferunt, statim intuentibus, et mox conjectis in eum omnium oculis, nullum turbati aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem Imperatoremque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum; quasi imperare posset magis, quam vellet. Consultatum inde, 'pro rostris, an in senatu, an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur.' 'Iri in castra,' placuit: 'honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem, ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum.' Circumsteterat interim palatium publica expectatio, magni secreti impatiens; et male coërcitam famam supprimentes augebant.[d]

18. Quartum Idus[e] Januarias, fœdum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et cœlestes minæ ultra solitum turbaverant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis[f] non

good princes have owed their elevation to their birth rather than to election.

[z] *Cum—prov.*] Gaul, in which there were no military garrisons.

[a] *Una leg.*] The sixth: H. v, 16. The provinces of Spain were usually held by three legions. See A. iv, 5.

[b] *Duæ leg.*] Of Upper Germany.

[c] *Pati possunt*] Such was Galba's remark. Tiberius would have spoken differently; for he had penetrated more deeply into the character of the Romans, and into the arts and influence of dominion.

[d] *Augebant*] Unless you absolutely destroy report, you increase it: it is even norished by secresy.

[e] *Quart. Id.*] The 10th of January.

[f] *Dirimendis*] Tull. de Div. ii, 18. 'In nostris Commentariis scriptum ha-

terruit Galbam, quominus in castra pergeret, contemtorem talium, ut fortuitorum; seu, quæ fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitarentur. Apud frequentem militum concionem, imperatoria brevitate,[g] 'adoptari a se Pisonem, more divi Augusti,[h] et exemplo militari, quo vir virum legeret,'[i] pronuntiat: ac ne dissimulata seditio in majus crederetur, ultro adseverat, 'quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones, paucis seditionis auctoribus, non ultra verba ac voces errasse, et brevi in officio fore.' Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium[k] addit aut pretium: tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent: per ceteros mœstitia ac silentium, tamquam usurpatam etiam in pace[l] donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. Constat, potuisse conciliari animos quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas; cui jam pares non sumus.

19. Inde apud senatum non comtior Galbæ, non longior quam apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio: et patrum favor aderat; multi voluntate effusius; qui noluerant, medie;[m] at plurimi obvio obsequio privatas spes agitantes, sine publica cura. Nec aliud sequenti quatriduo[n] (quod medium inter adoptionem et cædem fuit) dictum a Pisone in publico factumve. Crebrioribus in dies Germanicæ defectionis nuntiis, et facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres mittendos

bemus: Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.'

[g] *Imp. brev.*] According to Plut. Galb. p. 1063. he partly spoke extempore, and partly from copy. This was not very worthy of an emperor.

[h] *More d. A.*] Perhaps it was originally written, as many have supposed, *exemplo divi Augusti, et more militari.*

[i] *Vir v. leg.*] According to a military custom, every Roman soldier chose his comrade to be his defender and avenger. Of this tie, by which it may be said the military life and valor were doubled, the Etrurians seem to have been the originators. Liv. ix, 39. 'Ad Vadimonis lacum Etrusci lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam alias ante simul copiis, simul animis dimicarunt.'

[k] *Lenocinium*] He adds to his oration no flattering expressions nor hopes of a donative.

[l] *In pace*] So Claudius added a donative, when Nero received the proconsular command without the city. A. xii, 41.

[m] *Medie*] Perhaps *medii.*

[n] *Seq. quatr.*] Suetonius says rather differently in Galb. 17. '[Pisonem] perduxit in castra, ac pro concione adoptavit, ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta; quod faciliorem occasionem Marco Salvio Othoni præbuit perficiendi conata intra sextum adoptionis diem.' Tacitus said *quatriduum,* without counting the days of his adoption and his murder: for in ch. 29. Tacitus himself says, 'sextus dies agitur.'

ad Germanicum exercitum legatos: agitatum secreto, num et Piso proficisceretur, majore prætextu;[o] illi auctoritatem senatus, hic dignationem Cæsaris laturus. Placebat et Laconem, prætorii præfectum, simul mitti: is consilio[p] intercessit. Legati quoque, (nam senatus electionem Galbæ permiserat) fœda inconstantia nominati, excusati, substituti, ambitu remanendi aut eundi, ut quemque metus vel spes impulerat.

20. Proxima pecuniæ cura:[q] et cuncta scrutantibus justissimum visum est, inde repeti, unde inopiæ causa erat. Bis et vicies millies sestertium[r] donationibus Nero effuderat. Appellari singulos jussit, decuma parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta. At illis vix decumæ super portiones erant, iisdem erga aliena sumtibus, quibus sua prodegerant; cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo, non agri, aut fœnus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent. Exactioni triginta equites[s] Romani præpositi; novum officii genus, et ambitu ac numero onerosum: ubique hasta, et sector; et inquieta urbs auctionibus. Attamen grande gaudium, quod tam pauperes forent, quibus donasset Nero, quam quibus abstulisset. Exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e prætorio, Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso; ex urbanis cohortibus, Æmilius Pacensis;[t] e vigiliis,[u] Julius

[o] *Maj. præt.*] To increase the dignity and authority of his legation. Thus in ch. 76. 'erat grande momentum in nomine Urbis ac prætextu senatus.'

[p] *Is cons.*] Laco himself. Davanzati makes *is* belong to Piso: *Pisone contradisse.*

[q] *Pec. cura*] Which he took on himself before these last four days, as appears from what follows, as well as from Dio, lxiii, p. 721. when Galba demanded back from the judges of the games the sum given to them by Nero, mentioned in the following note.

[r] *Bis—sestertium*] 18,333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* It is no wonder that Nero should have thrown away such a quantity of money, since he gave 'decies sestertium,' 8333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the judges of the games, for having crowned him, though he had been thrown at the Olympic games.

[s] *Triginta eq.*] Perhaps there were thirty at first; but, as corruption increased, the number may have extended to fifty. For so Suet. Galb. 15. 'Liberalitates Neronis, non plus decimis concessis, per quinquaginta equites Romanos ea conditione revocandas curavit exigendasque, ut et si quid scenici aut xystici donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emtoribus, quando illi, absumto pretio, solvere nequirent.' The same hard treatment of purchasers is related by Plut. Galb. p. 1060.

[t] *Æm. P.*] *Pacensis* appears to have been a name derived from his country: he seems therefore to have been born at Forum Julii, now *Frejus*, in Gaul, 'colonia, quæ Pacensis appellatur,' Plin. iii, 4; or rather at Pax Julia, *Beya*, in Lusitania, 'colonia Pacensis,' Plin. iv, 22.

[u] *E vigil.*] The regiments of guards, of whom frequent mention has been before made.

Fronto. Nec remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium: tamquam per artem et formidinem singuli pellerentur, omnibus suspectis.[w]

21. Interea Othonem, cui, compositis rebus, nulla spes, omne in turbido consilium, multa simul exstimulabant:[x] luxuria etiam Principi onerosa, inopia[y] vix privato toleranda, in Galbam ira,[z] in Pisonem invidia. Fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisceret. 'Prægravem se Neroni fuisse; nec Lusitaniam rursus, et alterius exilii honorem expectandum: suspectum semper invisumque dominantibus, qui proximus destinaretur. Nocuisse id sibi apud senem Principem:[a] magis nociturum apud juvenem,[b] ingenio trucem, et longo exilio efferatum:[c] occidi Othonem posse. Proinde agendum audendumque, dum Galbæ auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset. Opportunos magnis conatibus transitus rerum: nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam temeritas. Mortem omnibus ex natura æqualem, oblivione apud posteros vel gloria distingui: ac si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse, merito perire.'

22. Non erat Othonis mollis[d] et corpori similis animus: et intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata domo habiti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria, matrimonia, ceterasque regnorum libidines, avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes; quiescenti, ut aliena, exprobrabant: urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum 'novos motus, et clarum Othoni annum, observatione siderum,' adfirmant: genus hominum potentibus infidum,[e] sperantibus

[w] *Omn. susp.*] As being the companions of Nymphidius, and devoted to Nero. See Suet. Galb. 16. Tac. H. i, 25.

[x] *Existimulabant*] See Ruhnken on Vell. Paterc. ii, 25.

[y] *Inopia*] So great, that Plutarch, Galb. p. 1062. describes him as πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον· i. e. 1,666,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This made him so bold, that he scrupled not to say, 'nisi Principem, se stare non posse: nihilque referre, ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus [caderet,]' Suet. Oth. 5.

[z] *In Galbam ira*] Hatred to Galba, for not adopting him; and envy of Piso, who had been adopted.

[a] *Senem Principem*] Galba.

[b] *Apud juvenem*] Piso.

[c] *Exil. eff.*] Hence, when Tiberius, who had been formerly banished, was made emperor, it was publicly given out, as we learn from Suet. Tib. 59. 'Roma perit; regnabit sanguine multo, Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.'

[d] *Non — mollis*] See Corneille's tragedy of Otho, where the character of Otho, as delineated by Tacitus, is depicted.

[e] *Pot. inf.*] As they excite the ambitious to rebellion.

fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.[f] Multos secreta Poppææ[g] mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant: e quibus Ptolemæus,[h] Othoni in Hispania comes, cum 'superfuturum eum Neroni' promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, conjectura jam et rumore senium Galbæ et juventam Othonis computantium, persuaserat, 'fore, ut in imperium adscisceretur.' Sed Otho, tamquam peritia et monitu fatorum prædicta, accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credentis.[i] Nec deerat Ptolemæus, jam et sceleris instinctor,[k] ad quod facillime ab ejusmodi voto transitur.

23. Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens:[l] studia militum jampridem, spe successionis aut paratu facinoris, adfectaverat: in itinere, in agmine,[m] in stationibus, vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans, ac memoria Neroniani comitatus, 'contubernales' appellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere, et pecunia aut gratia juvare: inserendo sæpius querelas, et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quæque alia turbamenta vulgi. Labores itinerum, inopia commeatuum, duritia imperii, atrocius accipiebantur, cum, Campaniæ lacus et Achaiæ urbes classibus adire soliti,[n] Pyrenæum, et Alpes, et immensa viarum spatia ægre sub armis eniterentur.

24. Flagrantibus jam militum animis, velut faces addiderat Mævius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini: is mobilissimum quemque ingenio, aut pecuniæ indigum, et in novas

[f] *Vet.—ret.*] *Vetabitur*, because they make their way by destructive fraud: *retinebitur*, because they attract by their specious and desirable promises. See more in Plin. xxx, 1.

[g] *Secr. P.*] Poppæa had secretly consulted with many astrologers, who had been the wretched instruments of her marriage with the emperor. Of this marriage, see in A. xiii, 45, 46. xiv, 60.

[h] *Ptolemæus*] He seems to be the same as the person called Seleucus by Suet. Oth. 4. See also Juv. vi, 556.

[i] *Obscura credentis*] So Plin. xxx, 1. 'Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi, atque ea e cœlo verissime peti credente.'

[k] *Scel. inst.*] Suetonius relates the same circumstance, as it would seem, in a more mitigated form, Otho, 4. '[Otho] conatibus Galbæ primus accessit, eodemque momento etipse spem imperii cepit: magnam quidem et ex conditione temporum, sed aliquanto majorem ex affirmatione Seleuci, mathematici; qui cum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spopondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus adveuerat, imperaturum quoque brevi repromittens.'

[l] *Repens*] For *recens*, as before.

[m] *In agmine*] These words are rejected by Ernesti, as being identical with 'in itinere:' but the passage is well translated by Davanzati, *in cammino, in ordinanza, in guardie.*

[n] *Adire sol.*] In the reign of Nero.

cupiditates præcipitem alliciendo, eo paulatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii,[o] quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos[p] divideret: quam velut publicam largitionem[q] Otho secretioribus apud singulos præmiis intendebat; adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo, speculatori,[r] de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti, universum vicini agrum, sua pecunia emtum,[s] dono dederit, per socordiam præfecti,[t] quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

25. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri præfecit, a quo Barbium Proculum, tesserarium speculatorum,[u] et Veturium, optionem eorumdem,[v] perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio

[o] *Per spec. conviv.*] This is well expressed for 'sportularum loco: for 'sportulæ,' or provisions, used to be given: in their place Otho presented money. Thus the Marmora Pisaurensia, p. 20, n. 44. SPORTULAS. DECUR. X. V. ITEMQ. COLLEGIIS. X. II. PLEBEI. X. I. i. e. 'Sportulas decurionibus, denarios quinos; itemque collegiis denarios binos, plebi denarium unum.'

[p] *Centenos num.*] 16*s*. 8*d*. Tacitus seems here to use round numbers: for Suetonius writes otherwise, Oth. 4. 'Nullo officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso, quoties cœna Principem acciperet, aureos excubanti cohorti viritim dividebat.' The *aureus* under Nero was worth £1. but it is likely that Galba had depressed its value. However this be, whenever Otho gave these 'centenos nummos' to every man on duty, he consumed in this donation 795*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*.

[q] *Publ. larg.*] And therefore a lesser one.

[r] *Specul.*] The 'speculatores' were armed with lances and swords, and were executioners. Some were attached to legions and cohorts, as appears from many inscriptions in Gruter, Reines, and Gori: others attended the emperor, as appears from Suet. Claud. 35. and Tac. H. ii, 11. So also in the coins of M. Antony the *triumvir*, there is one COHORTIS SPECVLATORVM.

[s] *Sua—emtum*] This is illustrated by Suet. Oth. 4. 'Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti, adhibitus arbiter, totum agrum redemit, emancipavitque, ut jam vix ullus esset, qui non et sentiret et prædicaret solum successione imperii dignum.'

[t] *Præf.*] Of Laco, the prefect of the prætorian troops, 'mortalium ignavissimi,' as he is called, ch. 6.

[u] *Tesser. specul.*] The 'tesserarius' received the 'tessera' or watchword, and signified it to the soldiers. Virg. Æn. vii, 637. 'Classica jamque sonant; it bello tessera signum.' Proculus was a 'tesserarius speculatorum.' So in Gori's Inscr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 67. is mentioned, MINERVINVS TESS. COH. XII. VRB. i. e. 'tesserarius cohortis duodecimæ urbanæ.' The *tesserarius* we now call a Major.

[v] *Opt. eorumdem*] sc. 'speculatorum:' a Brigade-major. Veget. ii, 7. 'Optiones ab optando appellati, quod, antecedentibus ægritudine præpeditis, hi, tamquam adoptati eorum atque vicarii, solent universa curare.' In Gruter and Reines we have many memorials of these *optiones*. Nor were they used merely in military affairs. Gori, in Inscr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 440. cites an ancient inscription raised:

TITO AELIO MONTANO AVG
LIB OPTIONI TABELLARI
ORVM OFFICI RATIONVM

et promissis onerat, data pecunia[x] ad pertentandos plurium animos. Suscepere duo manipulares[y] imperium populi Romani transferendum; et transtulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti: suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant: primores militum, 'per beneficia[z] Nymphidii ut suspectos:' vulgus et ceteros, ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi: erant, quos memoria Neronis, ac desiderium prioris licentiæ accenderet: in commune omnes metu mutandæ militiæ[a] terrebantur.

26. Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas jam mentes, postquam vulgatum erat, 'labare Germanici exercitus fidem:' adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero Iduum die,[b] redeuntem a cœna Othonem rapturi fuerint, nisi incerta noctis, et tota Urbe sparsa militum castra, nec facilem inter temulentos consensum, timuissent: non reipublicæ cura, quam fœdare Principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant; sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indicia, per conscios oppressa; quædam apud Galbæ aures præfectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum,[c] consiliique, quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus, et adversus peritos pervicax.

27. Octavodecimo[d] Calendas Februarii sacrificanti pro

[x] *Data pec.*] Suetonius relates the matter more distinctly, and shows the smallness of the resources of Otho in the midst of such bold attempts: 'Ante paucos dies servo Cæsaris pro impetrata dispensatione decies sestertium [*Angl.* 8333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] expresserat. Hoc subsidium tanti cœpti fuit: ac primo quinque speculatoribus commissa est res, deinde decem aliis, quos singuli binos produxerant: omnibus dena sestertia, [*Angl.* 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] repræsentata, et quinquagena, [*Angl.* 416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] promissa. Per hos sollicitati reliqui, nec adeo multi, haud dubia fiducia in ipso negotio pluribus affuturis,' Suet. Oth. 5.

[y] *Duo manip.*] Proculus and Veturius, two of the 'manipulares speculatores,' and not signalised by military honors.

[z] *Beneficia*] See H. iv, 48.

[a] *Mut. mil.*] Degradation was a military punishment. In Digest. libr. xlix, Tit. 16. de Re Mil. leg. 3. ex Modestino, 'Pœnæ militum hujuscemodi sunt: castigatio, pecuniaria multa, munerum indictio, militiæ mutatio, gradus dejectio, ignominiosa missio.' The prætorian and the city troops feared being degraded.

[b] *Postero Id. die*] We should read, as it would seem, *pridie Idus*, the 12th day of January.

[c] *Animorum*] Since from an 'assessor,' he had become a prefect of the prætorian troops.

[d] *Octavodecimo*] The 15th of January.

æde Apollinis[e] Galbæ haruspex Umbricius 'tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem'[f] prædicit; audiente Othone, (nam proximus adstiterat) idque, ut lætum e contrario, et suis cogitationibus prosperum, interpretante. Nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat, 'expectari eum ab architecto et redemtoribus:'[g] quæ significatio coëuntium jam militum et paratæ conjurationis convenerat. Otho, 'causam digressus' requirentibus, cum, 'emi sibi prædia vetustate suspecta, eoque prius exploranda,' finxisset, innixus liberto, per Tiberianam domum,[h] in Velabrum, inde ad Milliarium aureum,[i] sub ædem Saturni,[k] pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum Imperatorem, ac paucitate salutantium trepidum, et sellæ festinanter impositum, strictis mucronibus[l] rapiunt.[m] Totidem ferme milites in itinere aggregantur; alii conscientia, plerique miraculo: pars clamore et gladiis, pars silentio, animos ex eventu sumturi.

28. Stationem in castris agebat Julius Martialis, tribunus. Is, magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra, ac, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, præbuit

[e] *Æde Apoll.*] Which was on Mount Palatine and in the very palace of the Cæsars. See Bianchini, Palazzo de' Cesari, ed. Verona, 1738. c. 6. p. 161.

[f] *Domesticum hostem*] Suet. Galb. 19. 'Prius vero quam occideretur, sacrificantem mane haruspex idemtidem monuit, caveret periculum: non longe percussores abesse.' Oth. 6. 'Ergo destinata die, præmonitis consciis, ut se in foro sub æde Saturni ad Milliarium aureum opperirentur, mane Galbam salutavit; utque consueverat, osculo exceptus, etiam sacrificanti interfuit, audivitque prædicta haruspicis.'

[g] *Redemt.*] Surveyors. Suet. Oth. 6. 'Deinde liberto adesse architectos nuntiante, quod signum convenerat, quasi venalem domum inspecturus abscessit.'

[h] *Tib. dom.*] Which was added by Tiberius to the house of Augustus, in the western part of Mount Palatine. Thus Suet. Oth. 6. 'proripuit se postica parte palatii,' where was the temple of Apollo; and through the 'Tiberiana domus,' he went down to the Velabrum. That descent remains to this day from the Farnesian gardens above St. George's Church in the Velabrum. It was called Velabrum, because that spot between the Roman forum and the Mounts Palatine and Aventine had been formerly overspread with marshes. Hence Propert. iv, 10, 5. 'Qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine, quaque Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.'

[i] *Mill. aur.*] It was at the top of the Roman forum, where is now a hospital, called *Santa Maria della Consolazione.*

[k] *Æd. Sat.*] Which was at the bottom of the Capitoline hill. There was the treasury of the Roman people. The church of St. Hadrian is built partly on its ruins.

[l] *Strictis mucronibus*] 'Inter faustas acclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit: obvio quoque non aliter, ac si conscius et particeps foret, adhærente.' Suet. Oth. 6.

[m] *Rapiunt*] And take to the principia, which were in the prætor's camp. See A. i, 61.

plerisque suspicionem conscientiæ. Anteposuere ceteri quoque tribuni centurionesque præsentia dubiis et honestis: isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

29. Ignarus interim Galba, et sacris intentus, fatigabat alieni jam imperii Deos:[n] cum adfertur rumor, 'rapi in castra, incertum quem senatorem:' mox, 'Othonem esse, qui raperetur:' simul ex tota Urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidinem augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit, 'tentari animum cohortis, quæ in palatio stationem agebat: nec per ipsum Galbam,[o] cujus integra auctoritas majoribus remediis servabatur.' Piso pro gradibus domus[p] vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est: 'Sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo, ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Cæsar adscitus sum: quo domus nostræ aut reipublicæ fato, in vestra manu positum est; non, quia meo nomine tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui, adversas res expertus, cum maxime discam, ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere; patris,[q] et senatus, et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est, aut, quod æque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solatium proximi motus[r] habebamus incruentam Urbem, et res sine discordia translatas. Provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.

30. 'Nihil arrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiæ: neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. Vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam cum amicum Imperatoris[s] ageret. Habitune et incessu, an illo muliebri ornatu[t] mereretur imperium? Falluntur, quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit. Perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc, et comessationes, et fœminarum cœtus volvit animo: hæc Principatus

[n] *Fatigabat—Deos*] Observe the eloquence of Tacitus in this passage.

[o] *Nec—Galbam*] And that the feelings of the cohort were to be tried without the intervention of Galba, that so his authority should be reserved for the last extremity.

[p] *Domus*] The imperial residence, or the palace.

[q] *Patris*] Galba.

[r] *Prox. mot.*] In which Nero was dethroned.

[s] *Imperatoris*] Nero.

[t] *Mul. orn.*] For the very soles of his feet were perfumed. Otho's mirror and his other effeminate ornaments, which were unknown even to Semiramis and Cleopatra, are derided by Juvenal, ii, 99. &c.

præmia putat; quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes: nemo enim umquam imperium, flagitio quæsitum, bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba, consentientibus vobis, Cæsarem dixit. Si respublica et senatus et populus vana nomina sunt; vestra, commilitones, interest, ne Imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legionum seditio adversum duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides[u] famaque inlæsa ad hunc diem mansit: et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem. Minus triginta transfugæ[v] et desertores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret, imperium adsignabunt? Admittitis exemplum? et quiescendo commune crimen facitis? Transcendet hæc licentia in provincias; et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos, pertinebunt. Nec est plus,[x] quod pro cæde Principis, quam quod innocentibus datur: sed perinde a nobis donativum ob fidem, quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.'

31. Dilapsis speculatoribus, certa cohors, non aspernata concionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis, et nullo adhuc consilio,[y] parat signa, quam, quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus,[z] Vipsania in porticu[a] tendentes. Præceptum Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino, primipilaribus,[b] 'ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio[c] arcesserent.' Legioni classicæ diffidebatur, infestæ ob cædem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. Pergunt etiam in castra prætorianorum tribuni, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus; si incipiens adhuc, et necdum adulta, seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribunorum Subrium et Ce-

[u] *Vestra f.*] He was addressing the prætorian cohort.

[v] *Min. XXX. tr.*] Three and twenty of the body-guard had saluted Otho as emperor: ch. 27.

[x] *Nec est plus*] You are not offered more for murdering your prince, than you will receive for saving him, and remaining guiltless of his blood.

[y] *Nullo—cons.*] I follow Huet in the reading of this passage.

[z] *Electos—exerc.*] chap. 6. Marius Celsus, who had served in Pannonia, as we have seen in A. xv, 25. might have been known to them.

[a] *Vips. in p.*] In the Campus Martius, and not far from the place where is now *Palazzo della Accademia Ecclesiastica.* Of this portico Horace speaks, Ep. i, 6, 25. 'Cum bene notum Porticus Agrippæ, et via te conspexerit Appi.' Here the Illyrian army encamped.

[b] *Primipil.*] See A. ii, 11.

[c] *Lib. atr.*] This was raised in the times of the republic on Mount Aventine. Its ruins are still to be seen near the church of St. Prisca.

trium milites adorti minis, Longinum manibus coercent, exarmantque; quia non ordine militiæ,[d] sed e Galbæ amicis, fidus Principi suo, et desciscentibus suspectior erat. Legio classica, nihil cunctata, prætorianis adjungitur. Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis[e] proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere;[f] invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos, a Nerone Alexandriam præmissos,[g] atque inde rursus longa navigatione ægros, impensiore cura Galba refovebat.

32. Universa jam plebs palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis, et dissono clamore, 'cædem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium' poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent. Neque illis judicium aut veritas; quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis: sed tradito more, quemcunque Principem adulandi, licentia acclamationum, et studiis inanibus. Interim Galbam duæ sententiæ distinebant. Titus Vinius, 'manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos,' censebat: 'daret malorum pœnitentiæ, daret bonorum consensui spatium: scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere: denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eamdem mox facultatem: regressus, si pœniteat, in aliena potestate.'

33. 'Festinandum' ceteris videbatur, 'antequam cresceret invalida adhuc conjuratio paucorum. Trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus,[h] ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus, imitari Principem discat. Non expectandum, ut, compositis castris, forum invadat, et, prospectante Galba, Capitolium adeat: dum egregius Imperator, cum fortibus amicis,

[d] *Non—mil.*] He had been made tribune out of his turn by the favor of Galba, perhaps at the dismissal of Ant. Taurus and Ant. Naso: ch. 20.

[e] *Infestis pilis*] Veget. ii, 15. 'Hastile pedum quinque et semis, quod pilum vocabant, nunc spiculum dicitur, ad cujus jactum exercebantur præcipue milites: quod arte et virtute directum, et scutatos pedites et loricatos equites sæpe transverberabat.'

[f] *Diu nut.*] To the good faith of the Germans testimony is borne by Suet. Galb. 20. 'Illum mirum admodum fuerit, neque præsentium quempiam opem Imperatori ferre conatum, et omnes qui arcesserentur sprevisse nuntium, excepta Germanicorum vexillatione. Hi ob recens meritum, quod se ægros et invalidos magnopere fovisset, in auxilium advolavere: sed serius itinere devio per ignorantiam locorum retardati.'

[g] *Alex. pr.*] When Nero wished to go to Alexandria, and was preparing an expedition against the Æthiopians. See Suet. Ner. 19.

[h] *Furt. digr.*] Otho went by stealth from his palace, and was brought into the camp of the prætorian soldiers, who were not prepared with any plan of action.

janua ac limine tenus domum cludit,[k] obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. Et præclarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantæ multitudinis, et, quæ plurimum valet, prima indignatio languescat. Proinde intuta quæ indecora: vel, si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini. Id Othoni invidiosius, et ipsis honestum.' Repugnantem huic sententiæ Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo, privati odii[l] pertinacia, in publicum exitium.

34. Nec diutius Galba cunctatus, speciosiora suadentibus accessit. Præmissus tamen in castra Piso, ut juvenis magno nomine, recenti favore, et infensus T. Vinio; seu quia erat, seu quia irati ita volebant; et facilius de odio creditur. Vix dum egresso Pisone, 'occisum in castris Othonem,' vagus primum et incertus rumor; mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem, mixtis jam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam læta falso vulgaverint.

35. Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus et immodica studia, sed equitum plerique ac senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis palatii foribus, ruere intus, ac se Galbæ ostentare, 'præreptam sibi ultionem' querentes. Ignavissimus quisque, et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus, nimii verbis, linguæ feroces: nemo scire, et omnes adfirmare: donec inopia veri, et consensu errantium victus, sumto thorace,[m] Galba, inruenti turbæ neque ætate neque corpore sistens,[n] sella levaretur. Obvius in palatio Julius Atticus, speculator, cruentum gladium ostentans, 'occisum a se Othonem' exclamavit: et Galba, 'Commilito,' inquit, 'quis jussit?'[o] insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

36. Haud dubiæ jam in castris omnium mentes; tantusque ardor, ut non contenti agmine et corporibus, in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbæ statua[p] fuerat,

[k] *Cludit*] Anciently for 'claudit.' See A. xvi, 28.

[l] *Priv. od.*] To Vinius.

[m] *Sumto thorace*] Suet. Galb. 19. 'Loricam induit linteam, quamquam haud dissimulans parum adversus tot mucrones profuturam.'

[n] *Sistens*] Rather *resistens.*

[o] *Quis jussit*] Plutarch, in Galb. p. 1065. says, that the soldier answered, Πίστιν καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσε. Tacitus has omitted this, to prevent the narrative from becoming tedious, and to magnify Galba.

[p] *Galbæ statua*] See A. xv, 29.

medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles 'caveri' insuper 'præpositos' jubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tamquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus; sed, ut quemque adfluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, complecti armis, collocare juxta,[q] præire sacramentum,[r] modo Imperatorem militibus, modo Imperatori milites commendare. Nec deerat Otho, protendens manus, adorare vulgum, jacere oscula, et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum ejus accepit, fidens viribus, et, quos adhuc singulos exstimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus, pro vallo castrorum ita cœpit:—

37. 'Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum: quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo, Princeps a vobis nominatus; nec Principem, alio imperante. Vestrum quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec dubitabitur, Imperatorem populi Romani in castris, an hostem habeatis. Auditisne, ut pœna mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? adeo manifestum est, neque perire nos, neque salvos esse, nisi una posse. Et, cujus lenitatis est Galba, jam fortasse promisit: ut qui, nullo exposcente, tot millia innocentissimorum militum trucidaverit. Horror animum subit, quotiens recordor feralem introitum, et hanc solam Galbæ victoriam, cum in oculis Urbis decumari deditos juberet, quos deprecantes in fidem acceperat. His auspiciis Urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad Principatum adtulit, nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in Gallia, Fonteii Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in Urbe, Nymphidii in castris? Quæ usquam provincia, quæ castra sunt, nisi cruenta et maculata; aut, ut ipse prædicat, emendata et correcta?

q *Juxta*] i.e. Otho.

r *Præire sacramentum*] The formula of which appears to me to be found in Amm. Marcell. xxi, 4. 'Jussique universi [milites] in ejus [Juliani] nomen jurare solemniter, gladiis cervicibus suis admotis, sub execrationibus diris verbis juravere conceptis, omnes pro eo casus, quoad vitam profuderint, si id necessitas exegerit, perlaturos. Quæ secuti rectores omnesque Principis proximi fidem simili religione firmarunt.' There is another general military oath, mentioned by Veget. ii, 5. '[Matriculis inserti,] jurant milites, omnia se strenue facturos, quæ præceperit imperator, numquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica.'

Nam, quæ alii scelera, hic remedia vocat: dum falsis nominibus, severitatem pro sævitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia et contumelias vestras, disciplinam appellat. Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt, et jam plus rapuit Icelus, quam quod Polycleti et Vatinii et Helii et Haloti[t] paraverunt. Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si ipse imperasset: nunc et subjectos nos habuit, tamquam suos; et viles, ut alienos. Una illa domus[u] sufficit donativo, quod vobis numquam datur, et quotidie exprobratur.[v]

38. 'Ac, ne qua saltem in successore Galbæ spes esset, arcessit ab exilio, quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum[x] judicabat. Vidistis, commilitones, notabili tempestate[y] etiam Deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes. Idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est. Vestra virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur, et sine quibus, quamvis egregia, invalida sunt. Non ad bellum vos, nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt: nec una cohors togata[z] defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet. Cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum[a] acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet. Nullus cunctationi locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari, nisi peractum.' Aperire deinde armamentarium jussit: rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiæ, ut prætorianus aut legionarius insignibus[b] suis distingueretur: miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque. Nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator: et præcipuum pessimorum incitamentum, quod boni mœrebant.

[t] *Et Haloti*] Polycletus, Vatinius, Helius, Halotus, famous freedmen under Nero, often mentioned in the Annals. For Halotus, see also Suet. Galb. 15.

[u] *Una—domus*] That of Titus Vinius.

[v] *Exprobratur*] For he insults you, who is always promising you.

[x] *Simillimum*] i. e. Piso.

[y] *Tempestate*] ch. 18.

[z] *Cohors togata*] The toga was a city robe, which on taking off their military cloak the soldiers put on, to prevent the city from becoming uncivilised, and wearing the appearance of a camp. The 'togata cohors' was stationed in the palace, as was stated in ch. 29. Domitian, as residing in the city, is called 'Mars togatus' by Martial, vi, 76. 'Ille sacri lateris custos, Martisque togati, Credita cui summi castra fuere ducis.'

[a] *Signum meum*] This is not to be understood of the 'vexillum.' In Ann. xiii, 2. Nero 'signum more militiæ petenti tribuno dedit, OPTIMAE MATRIS.'

[b] *Insignibus*] These insignia of the prætorian troops, the legions, and the auxiliaries, may be seen on coins, on ancient monuments, and particularly on the Column of Trajan.

39. Jam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis, et vocibus in Urbem [c] usque resonantibus, egressum interim Galbam, et foro appropinquantem, assecutus erat: jam Marius Celsus haud læta retulerat: cum alii, 'in palatium redire,' alii 'Capitolium petere,' plerique 'rostra [d] occupanda,' censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent; utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur, quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco, ignaro Galba, de occidendo T. Vinio dicitur, sive ut pœna ejus animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis [e] credebat, ad postremum, vel odio. Hæsitationem adtulit tempus ac locus, quia, initio cædis orto, difficilis modus: et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.

40. Agebatur huc illuc Galba, vario turbæ fluctuantis impulsu; completis undique basilicis ac templis,[f] lugubri prospectu: neque populi, aut plebis ulla vox; sed attoniti vultus et conversæ ad omnia aures: non tumultus, non quies: quale magni metus et magnæ iræ silentium [g] est. Othoni tamen 'armari plebem,' nuntiabatur: ire præcipites et occupare pericula jubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesen aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri, ac non Imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disjecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidis equis, forum inrumpunt: nec illos Capitolii aspectus, et imminentium templorum [h] religio, et priores et futuri Principes terruere, quominus facerent scelus, cujus ultor est, quisquis successit.

41. Viso cominus armatorum agmine, vexillarius comitantis Galbam cohortis ('Atilium Vergilionem fuisse' tradunt) dereptam Galbæ imaginem [i] solo adflixit. Eo

[c] *In Urbem*] For the prætorian camp was then without the city, where is now *la Vigna del Noviziato de Padri Gesuiti*.

[d] *Rostra*] In the Roman forum.

[e] *Conscium Othonis*] 'Quia Vinio vidua filia, cœlebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur,' as was said in ch. 13.

[f] *Basil. ac templis*] Particularly such as were in the Roman forum or in its vicinity. But these 'basilicæ' are not to be understood in the present usual sense of the word: they were large and magnificent houses, erected for judicial and mercantile purposes.

[g] *Iræ sil.*] Great anger is silent and burning; slight anger is noisy and clamorous.

[h] *Imm. templ.*] The temple of Capitoline Jove, and most of the other temples of the gods in the Capitol, overhung the Roman forum.

[i] *Galbæ imag.*] Fixed to the colors.

signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, destricta adversus dubitantes tela. Juxta Curtii lacum,[k] trepidatione ferentium Galba projectus e sella ac provolutus est. Extremam ejus vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere: alii, suppliciter interrogasse, 'quid mali meruisset? paucos dies exsolvendo donativo' deprecatum: plures, obtulisse ultro percussoribus jugulum, 'agerent ac ferirent, si ita e republica videretur.' Non interfuit occidentium, quid diceret. De percussore non satis constat: quidam 'Terentium evocatum,'[l] alii 'Lecanium;' crebrior fama tradidit 'Camurium, quintædecimæ legionis militem, impresso gladio, jugulum ejus hausisse.' Ceteri crura brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur[m]) fœde laniavere: pleraque vulnera feritate et sævitia trunco jam corpori adjecta.

42. Titum inde Vinium invasere; de quo et ipso ambigitur, consumseritne vocem ejus[n] instans metus, an proclamaverit, 'non esse ab Othone mandatum, ut occideretur.' Quod seu finxit formidine, seu conscientia conjurationis confessus est: huc potius ejus vita famaque inclinat, ut conscius sceleris fuerit, cujus causa erat.[o] Ante ædem divi Julii[p] jacuit, primo ictu in poplitem, mox ab Julio Caro, legionario milite, in utrumque latus transverberatus.

43. Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum ætas nostra vidit. Centurio is prætoriæ cohortis, a Galba custodiæ Pisonis[q] additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans, ac modo manu, modo voce, vertendo in se percussores, quamquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in ædem Vestæ[r] pervasit, exceptusque mise-

[k] *Curtii lacum*] In the Roman forum, before the rostra.

[l] *Terent. evoc.*] 'Evocatus' is an official name: Galba had formerly attached to himself officers of this name: Suet. Galb. 10. 'Delegit et equestris ordinis juvenes, qui, manente annulorum aureorum usu, Evocati appellarentur, excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent.' There was another description of 'evocati' mentioned in A. ii, 68.

[m] *Pect. teg.*] With a breastplate: ch. 35.

[n] *Vocem ejus*] So Q. Curt. vii, 7. 'per metum etiam suppressa voce.'

[o] *Causa erat*] When Vinius oppressed Galba 'odio flagitiorum,' as is rightly observed by Saville, from ch. 6.

[p] *Ædem—J.*] In the Roman forum.

[q] *Cust. Pisonis*] I have adopted the emendation of Lipsius.

[r] *Ædem Vestæ*] Which was very near the temple of Julius, on the declivity of the Palatine mountain; and near the gate of the palace, as was stated on A. xv, 41.

ricordia publici servi, et contubernio ejus abditus, non religione,[s] nec cærimoniis, sed latebra imminens exitium differebat; cum advenere, missu Othonis, nominatim in cædem ejus ardentes, Sulpicius Florus, e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus,[t] et Statius Murcus, speculator: a quibus protractus Piso, in foribus templi trucidatur.

44. Nullam cædem[u] Otho majore lætitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur: seu tum primum levata omni solicitudine mens vacare gaudio cœperat; seu recordatio majestatis in Galba, amicitiæ in T. Vinio, quamvis immitem animum, imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis, ut inimici et æmuli, cæde lætari, jus fasque credebat. Præfixa contis capita gestabantur, inter signa cohortium, juxta aquilam legionis; certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus, qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere, qui falso, ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus, jactabant. Plures quam centum et viginti libellos præmia exposcentium, ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam, Vitellius postea invenit; omnesque conquiri et interfici jussit: non honore Galbæ, sed tradito Principibus more, munimentum ad præsens,[v] in posterum ultionem.

45. Alium crederes senatum, alium populum: ruere cuncti in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum præcurrentibus, increpare Galbam, laudare militum judicium, exosculari Othonis manum: quantoque magis falsa erant, quæ fiebant, tanto plura facere. Nec aspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum, consulem designatum,[w] et Galbæ usque in extremas res amicum fidumque, ad supplicium expostulabant, industriæ ejus innocentiæque, quasi malis artibus, infensi. Cædis et prædarum initium et

[s] *Non relig.*] Not clinging to the altar of Vesta, not invoking the ceremonies of the place and of the Vestals; but, what he thought safer, hiding himself in the private apartment of a slave of the state who had the care of the temple; in this vile retreat he delayed the impending destruction.

[t] *Civ. don.*] A. xi, 23.

[u] *Null. cæd.*] For, bringing Galba's head, he is said to have cried out: *Οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ συστρατιῶται· τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε.* Plut. Galb. p. 1062.

[v] *Mun. ad pr.*] By the usual policy of princes, who think that, by punishing the malcontents of a former period and of a former reign, they obtain a capital defence for the security of the existing prince. Ch. 40. 'Scelus, cujus ultor est quisquis successit.'

[w] *Consulem designatum*] See H. i, 14.

optimo cuique perniciem quæri apparebat: sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus; jubere jam poterat. Ita, simulatione iræ, 'vinciri' jussum, et 'majores pœnas daturum' adfirmans, præsenti exitio subtraxit.

46. Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta. Prætorii præfectos sibi ipsi legere; Plotium Firmum, e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus præpositum, et, incolumi adhuc Galba, partes Othonis secutum. Adjungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis, suspectus consilia ejus fovisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum[y] præfecere, judicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eamdem curam obtinuerat; plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum, 'ut vacationes,[z] præstari centurionibus solitæ, remitterentur:' namque gregarius miles, ut tributum annuum, pendebat. Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus, aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret: neque modum oneris quisquam, neque genus quæstus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus, aut servilibus ministeriis, militare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac sævitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret: ubi, sumtibus exhaustus, socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo, in manipulum redibat: ac rursus alius atque alius, eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti, ad seditiones et discordias, et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho, ne vulgi largitione[a] centurionum animos averteret, 'fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum,' promisit: rem haud dubie

[y] *Fl. Sab.*] Brother of Vespasian, mentioned by Suet. Vesp. 1. and often by Tacitus below.

[z] *Ut vac.*] The common soldiers frequently paid a large sum to the centurions for temporary remissions of service and of their heavy duties, and might therefore be said to pay a sort of annual tribute: in the mean while, the fourth part of every company was scattered abroad on furlough, or rambled about in the very camp. They purchased their ease, with the connivance of the centurions, by means of robberies, and thefts, and servile employments. Every soldier, who had become wealthy, was oppressed with military duties, till he purchased his exemption: when his pocket became drained, and himself had languished in indolence, he returned to his company poor and inert. We saw in A. i, 17. 35. the complaints of the soldiers on the price paid for their exemptions; and it was observed in A. xv, 10. that the legions were weakened by the promiscuous furloughs obtained by the troops.

[a] *Vulgi larg.*] Otho gave to the common soldiers the exemptions which were usually given by the centurions: and, not to alienate from himself the affections of the centurions by robbing them of their privileges, he promised to give them an annual revenue from his own treasury.

utilem, et a bonis postea Principibus perpetuitate disciplinæ firmatam. Laco præfectus, tamquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato,[b] quem ad cædem ejus Otho præmiserat, confossus: in Martianum Icelum, ut in libertum, palam animadversum.

47. Exacto per scelera die, novissimum malorum fuit lætitia. Vocat senatum prætor urbanus:[c] certant adulationibus ceteri magistratus. Accurrunt patres: decernitur Othoni 'tribunicia potestas[d] et nomen Augusti et omnes Principum honores,' adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quæ, promiscue jacta, hæsisse animo ejus nemo sensit. Omisisset offensas, an distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit. Otho, cruento adhuc foro, per stragem jacentium, in Capitolium,[e] atque inde in palatium[f] vectus, 'concedi corpora sepulturæ, cremarique' permisit. Pisonem Verania[g] uxor ac frater Scribonianus, T. Vinium Crispina filia, composuere, quæsitis redemtisque capitibus,[h] quæ venalia interfectores servaverant.

48. Piso unum et tricesimum ætatis annum explebat, fama meliore quam fortuna: fratres ejus,[i] Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant. Ipse diu exul, quatriduo Cæsar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum majori fratri prælatus est, ut prior occideretur. T. Vinius quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. Pater illi e prætoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. Prima mi-

[b] *Evocato*] ch. 41.

[c] *Vocat—urb.*] On the death of the two consuls Galba and Vinius, the city prætor took on himself the duties of their office. So Cic. Ep. x, 12. 'Placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum, prætorem urbanum, literas deferremus; qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more majorum.'

[d] *Trib. pot.*] There was in the Museum of the College of Louis XIV. a silver coin: IMP. OTHO CAESAR AVG. TR. P. the head bare: on the reverse, PAX ORBIS TERRARVM. Peace was standing with a caduceus and an olive-branch.

[e] *In Cap.*] To return thanks to Capitoline Jove.

[f] *Palatium*] The 'domus Augusta.' The commencement of Otho's reign is illustrated by Suet. Oth. 7. 'Vergente jam die ingressus senatum, positaque brevi ratione, quasi raptus de publico, et suscipere imperium vi coactus, gesturusque communi omnium arbitrio, palatium petit.'

[g] *Verania*] That Verania received by solicitation the head of Piso, we learn from Plut. Galb. p. 1066. Τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος (κεφαλὴν) ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐρανίου δεηθεῖσα. For Οὐρανίου we should read Οὐρανία, as is generally agreed. Of Verania, her death, and the fraud of Regulus, see Plin. Ep. ii, 20.

[h] *Red. cap.*] The head of Vinius was redeemed by his daughter Crispina for 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as is stated by Plut. Galb. p. 1066.

[i] *Fratres ejus*] For Piso's family, see ch. 14.

litia[k] infamis, legatum Calvisium Sabinum[l] habuerat; cujus uxor, mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum, per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiæ munia eadem lascivia temerasset, in ipsis principiis[m] stuprum ausa; et criminis hujus reus T. Vinius arguebatur. Igitur jussu C. Cæsaris[n] oneratus catenis; mox, mutatione temporum,[o] dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso, legioni post præturam præpositus probatusque; servili deinceps probro respersus est, tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus; et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari[p] jussit. Sed Vinius proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit: mox Galbæ amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax, callidus, promtus, et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius, eadem vi. Testamentum T. Vinii, magnitudine opum, inritum; Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

49. Galbæ corpus diu neglectum[q] et licentia tenebrarum plurimis ludibriis vexatum, dispensator Argius,[r] e prioribus servis,[s] humili sepultura in privatis ejus hortis[t] contexit. Caput, per lixas calonesque[u] suffixum laceratumque, ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis, punitus

[k] *Pr. mil.*] In Pannonia.

[l] *Calv. S.*] Perhaps the same as the person mentioned by Seneca, Ep. 27. 'Calvisius Sabinus memoria nostra fuit dives; et patrimonium habebat libertini et ingenium. Numquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.'

[m] *Principiis*] See on A. i, 61.

[n] *C. Cæs.*] Caius Caligula.

[o] *Mut. temp.*] By the murder of Caligula and the reigning of Claudius.

[p] *Fict. min.*] Plut. Galb. p. 1058.

[q] *Diu neglectum*] Suet. Galb. 20. '[Galba] jugulatus est ad lacum Curtii, ac relictus, ita uti erat, donec gregarius miles a frumentatione rediens abjecto onere caput ei amputavit; et quoniam capillo præ calvitie arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit; mox, inserto per os pollice, ad Othonem detulit. Ille lixis calonibusque donavit, qui hasta suffixum, non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt, acclamantes idemtidem, 'Galba, cupide fruaris ætate tua:' maxime irritati ad talem jocorum petulantiam, quod ante paucos dies exierat in vulgus, laudanti cuidam formam suam, ut adhuc floridam et vegetam, respondisse eum, Ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν.' From Hom. Il. v, 254.

[r] *Disp. Argius*] The 'dispensator' was the slave who was appointed by his master to the lending or collecting of money. See Digest. lib. xii, Tit. i, de rebus creditis. leg. 41. ex Africano.

[s] *E prior. serv.*] From the slaves which Galba had before he was emperor.

[t] *In—hortis*] This and the following are more distinctly stated by Suet. Galb. 20. '[Galbæ caput] Patrobii Neroniani libertus centum aureis, [*Angl.* 100*l.*] redemtum, eo loco, ubi jussu Galbæ animadversum in patronum fuerat, abjecit. Sero tandem dispensator Argius, et hoc, et ceterum truncum in privatis ejus hortis Aureliæ viæ sepulturæ dedit.'

[u] *Lixas calonesque*] Acron on Hor. Serm. i, 2, 44. 'Calones sunt ministri militum, liberi homines; lixæ vero sunt servi proprii eorumdem.'

a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum, et cremato jam corpori admixtum est. Hunc exitum habuit Ser. Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis[v] quinque Principes prospera fortuna emensus, et alieno imperio felicior quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas,[x] magnæ opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia, quam cum virtutibus. Famæ nec incuriosus, nec venditator: pecuniæ alienæ non appetens, suæ parcus, publicæ avarus: amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens; si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. Sed claritas natalium, et metus temporum obtentui,[y] ut, quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur. Dum vigebat ætas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit: proconsul Africam moderate; jam senior, citeriorem Hispaniam pari justitia continuit: major privato visus, dum privatus fuit; et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

50. Trepidam Urbem, ac simul atrocitatem recentis

[v] *Tribus—annis*] So Plut. Galb. p. 1056. Victor in Epit. and Eutrop. but, according to Dio, lxiv, p. 730. he was only 72 years old. Suetonius does not agree with himself: for he says in Galb. 23. 'Periit tertio et septuagesimo ætatis anno:' but in ch. 4. 'Servius Galba imperator, Marco Valerio Messala, Cneio Lentulo consulibus, natus est, nono Kalendas Januarii.' He was born then at the end of A.U.C. 751. and did not die in his 73rd year, but in the beginning of his 71st year. This opinion is supported by Reimar, on the ground that Dio, lvi, p. 589. says that Galba took up his 'toga virilis' A. U. C. 767. in the consulate of Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius: yet this is a dubious proof, since Caius assumed the toga in his 20th year, as we learn from Suet. in C. Caligula, 10. The Delphic oracle supports the former and the common opinion: for Nero, 'consulto Delphis Apolline, septuagesimum ac tertium annum cavendum sibi audivit, quasi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil conjectans de ætate Galbæ,' Suet. Ner. 40. It appears then that the Mss. of Suetonius are in fault in the specification of the consuls; and this is the more probable, as the prænomen of Lentulus was not Cneius, but Lucius, as appears from a 'tessera gladiatoria' in Muratori, Thes. Inscr. vol. i, p. ccxcviii, n. 2. L. LENTV. M. MES. COS.

[x] *Nobilitas*] We read in ch. 15. of the 'decora' of the Sulpician and Lutatian families, to which Galba added some fabulous representations, as we learn from Suet. Galb. 2. 'Imperator stemma in atrio proposuit, quo paternam originem ad Jovem; maternam, ad Pasiphaen, Minois uxorem, referret.' Harduin, in his Select. Opp. p. 726. published a coin belonging to Foucault's Museum: ΛΟΥΚ. ΛΙΒ. ΣΟΥΛΠ. ΓΑΛΒΑ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ. i. e. 'Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba Cæsar Augustus:' the head wreathed with laurel: Victory: on the reverse, ΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΣ, i.e. 'empire.' From this coin he framed a novelty in the family of Galba, unknown to the ancient writers. The coin was struck in the very commencement of Galba's reign: hence he is called Lucius instead of Servius, as in Suet. Galb. 4. He is called Livius by way of flattery, on account of his affinity with Livia.

[y] *Obtentui*] Were a pretext for calling, &c.

sceleris, simul veteres Othonis mores paventem, novus insuper 'de Vitellio' nuntius exterruit, ante cædem Galbæ suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniæ exercitum descivisse crederetur. Tum 'duos,[a] omnium mortalium impudicitia, ignavia, luxuria deterrimos, velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos,' non senatus modo et eques, queis aliqua pars et cura reipublicæ, sed vulgus quoque palam mœrere. Nec jam recentia sævæ pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria: 'captam totiens suis exercitibus Urbem, vastitatem Italiæ, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam, Philippos, et Perusiam ac Mutinam,'[b] nota publicarum cladium nomina, loquebantur. 'Prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de principatu inter bonos[c] certaretur: sed mansisse C. Julio, mansisse Cæsare Augusto victore, imperium; mansuram fuisse, sub Pompeio Brutoque, rempublicam. Nunc pro Othone, an pro Vitellio, in templa ituros? Utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota, inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore, qui vicisset.' Erant, qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur: et, ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama;[d] solusque omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est.

51. Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Cæso cum omnibus copiis Julio Vindice, ferox præda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, præmia quam stipendia malebat: diuque infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverat, ingenio loci cœlique,[f] et severitate disciplinæ; quam in pace inexorabilem discordiæ civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus, et perfidia impunita. Viri, arma, equi,[g] ad usum et ad decus super-

[a] *Duos*] Otho and Vitellius.

[b] *Perus. ac Mut.*] Julius Cæsar and Pompey fought in the plains of Pharsalia A.U.C. 706. At Mutina was a sharp engagement between M. Antony and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, A.U.C. 711. Octavius and Antony fought with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi A.U.C. 712. Octavius, in A.U.C. 714. compelled L. Antony, the brother of Antony the triumvir, shut up at Perusia, to a capitulation. Pharsalia is now called *Farsa*, Perusia *Perugia*, Mutina *Modena*. Philippi no longer exists.

[c] *Bonos*] At least not burdened with the vices of either Otho or Vitellius.

[d] *Fama*] He had formerly courted Caligula, and was under obligations to Cænis. See Suet. Vesp. 2—4.

[f] *Loci cœlique*] Of Germany.

[g] *Arma, equi*] The rewards of victory on the defeat of Vindex and the Gauls.

erant: sed ante bellum, centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant: exercitus finibus provinciarum[h] discernebantur. Tum adversus Vindicem contractæ legiones, seque et Gallias expertæ, quærere rursus arma, novasque discordias: nec 'socios,'[i] ut olim, sed 'hostes et victos' vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quæ Rhenum adcolit, easdem partes[k] secuta, ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversus Galbianos: hoc enim nomen, fastidito Vindice, indiderant. Igitur Sequanis Æduisque,[l] ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi, expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserunt animo: super avaritiam et arrogantiam, præcipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui, 'remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem, et publice donatos,[m] in ignominiam exercitus,' jactabant. Accessit callide vulgatum, temere creditum, 'decumari legiones et promtissimum quemque centurionum dimitti:' undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex Urbe fama: infensa Lugdunensis colonia, et, pertinaci pro Nerone[n] fide, fœcunda rumoribus. Sed plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris, odio, metu, et, ubi vires suas respexerant, securitate.

52. Sub ipsas superioris anni Calendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius, inferiorem Germaniam ingressus, hyberna legionum cum cura adierat: redditi plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatæ notæ:[o] plura ambitione, quædam judicio: in quibus sordem et avaritiam Fonteii Capitonis, adimendis adsignandisve militiæ ordinibus, integre mutaverat. Nec consularis legati mensura[q] sed in majus

[h] *Provinc.*] Of Lower and Upper Germany.

[i] *Nec socios*] Nor did they call the Gauls allies, &c.

[k] *Easd. partes*] Of the legions and Verginius.

[l] *Seq. Æduisque*] Who had taken the side of Vindex.

[m] *Publ. don.*] With the territories of the Treveri and the other states which were inimical to Vindex. This seemed to have been done to the disgrace of an army which had subdued Vindex.

[n] *Pro Ner.*] On account of the recent benefit conferred by Nero, and mentioned in A. xvi, 13. it was devoted to Nero and inimical to Galba.

[o] *Adl. notæ*] The censures, which were attached to persons' names in the censor's rolls, were erased, or at least mitigated. The same thing is stated by Suet. Vitell. 8. 'Castra vero ingressus nihil cuiquam poscenti negavit: atque etiam ultro ignominiosis notas, reis sordes, damnatis supplicia, demsit.' For the 'notæ,' see Suet. Claud. 16.

[q] *Cons. leg. mens.*] Nor were those largesses thought to correspond with the usual powers of a consular lieutenant, but to exceed them, as so many proofs of a princely mind and as pledges of prosperity: and, as by

omnia accipiebantur. Et Vitellius[r] apud severos humilis: ita comitatem bonitatemque[s] faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine judicio, donaret sua, largiretur aliena: simul aviditate imperandi,[t] ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur: multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui: sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum, Alienus Cæcina et Fabius Valens: e quibus Valens, infensus Galbæ, tamquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem,[u] oppressa Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset,[x] instigare Vitellium, 'ardorem militum' ostentans. 'Ipsum celebri ubique fama: nullam in Flacco Hordeonio[y] moram: adfore Britanniam: secutura Germanorum auxilia: male fidas provincias: precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum: panderet modo sinum et venienti fortunæ occurreret. Merito dubitasse Verginium, equestri familia, ignoto patre: imparem, si recepisset imperium; tutum, si recusasset. Vitellio tres patris consulatus, censuram, collegium Cæsaris,[z] et imponere jampridem Imperatoris dignationem, et auferre privati securitatem.' Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis, quam ut speraret.

53. At in superiore Germania, Cæcina, decora juventa, corpore ingens, animi immodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu, studia militum inlexerat. Hunc juvenem Galba,

this popularity he was considered low-minded by the reflecting, so he was thought courteous and generous by his creatures: for these epithets were bestowed on a prince, who without any discretion or moderation gave not his own, but other people's property, in a loose and prodigal manner.

[r] *Et Vit.*] Perhaps it was formerly written, *apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque, &c.* This at least I should prefer, and the sentence would be less rugged.

[s] *Com. bonitatemque*] To introduce the reader into the character of this most contemptible man, I will cite the following from Suet. Vitell. 7. '[Vitellium advenientem] male animatus erga Principem exercitus, pronusque ad res novas, libens ac supinis manibus excepit, velut dono Deum oblatum, tertio consulis filium, ætate integra, facili ac prodigo animo. Quam veterem de se persuasionem Vitellius recentibus etiam experimentis auxerat, tota via caligatorum quoque militum obvios exosculans; perque stabula ac diversoria, mulionibus ac viatoribus præter modum comis; ut mane singulos, jamne jentassent sciscitaretur, seque fecisse ructu quoque ostenderet.'

[t] *Avid. imp.*] Being desirous to have Vitellius for their emperor, they looked on his vices as so many virtues: for this 'aviditas' belonged to the soldiers, not to the sluggish temper of the corpulent Vitellius.

[u] *Verginii cunctationem*] ch. 8. 'Nec statim pro Galba Verginius.'

[x] *Ingr. tul.*] No recompense having been given him, as Huet rightly explains it.

[y] *Flacco Hordeonio*] See H. i, 9.

[z] *Coll. Cæs.*] The father of Vitellius had been thrice consul, censor, and colleague of Claud. Cæsar. See H. i, 9.

quæstorem in Bætica,[a] impigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni præposuit: mox compertum, publicam pecuniam avertisse, ut peculatorem flagitari jussit. Cæcina ægre passus,[b] miscere cuncta et privata vulnera[c] reipublicæ malis operire statuit. Nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiæ: quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat, nec, nisi occiso Nerone, translatus in Galbam, atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniæ præventus erat. Et Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat,[d] hybernis legionum propius miscentur:[e] unde seditiosa colloquia, et inter paganos[f] corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor,[g] cuicumque alii profuturus.

54. Miserat civitas Lingonum,[h] vetere instituto, dona legionibus, dextras, hospitii insigne.[i] Legati eorum, in squalorem mœstitiamque compositi, per principia,[k] per contubernia, modo 'suas injurias,' modo 'civitatum vicinarum[l] præmia;' et ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, 'ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias' conquerentes, accendebant animos. Nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus 'abire legatos,' utque occultior digressus esset, 'nocte castris excedere' jubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque, 'interfectos, ac, nisi ipsi consulerent, fore, ut acerrimi militum, et præsentia conquesti, per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur.'

[a] *Bætica*] Bætica; now *Grenada, Seville, Cordova, a part of Jaen and Estremadura.*

[b] *Ægre passus*] That disgrace.

[c] *Priv. vuln.*] Since he had been arraigned for peculation. Such as diverted the public money, or turned it to their own use, were by the Julian law guilty of peculation.

[d] *Perculerat*] For opposing Vindex.

[e] *Prop. misc.*] On account of their being neighbors.

[f] *Inter pag.*] Than in the camp. *Pagani* are such as do not serve in the army. So in many places in the books of the Digesta, and particularly in Digest. 35. Tit. 2. ad legem Falcidiam, leg. 96. ex Scævola: 'Miles, si, dum paganus erat, fecerit testamentum, militiæ tempore codicillos; lex Falcidia in codicillis locum non habet; in testamento locum habebit.' As the Romans called pagans such as did not serve in the war; so, those who do not serve God, we call pagans.

[g] *In Verg. favor*] Whom they would have made emperor, had he not opposed it.

[h] *Civ. Ling.*] Which had retained its fidelity to Nero.

[i] *Hosp. ins.*] The Lingones had sent ambassadors to make presents to the legions, and to join hands with them as a proof of friendship. Hence on coins we so often meet with two hands joined, with inscriptions like these: FIDES EXERCITVVM: CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM: CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM.

[k] *Per principia*] ch. 48.

[l] *Civ. vic.*] Which, as taking the side of Vindex, had been publicly presented with rewards by Galba.

Obstringuntur inter se tacito fœdere legiones. Adsciscitur auxiliorum miles; primo suspectus, tamquam, circumdatis cohortibus alisque, impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens; faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum, quam in pace ad concordiam.

55. Inferioris tamen Germaniæ legiones solenni Calendarum Januariarum sacramento pro Galba adactæ, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus: ceteri silentio, proximi cujusque audaciam expectantes; insita mortalibus natura, propere sequi, quæ piget inchoare. Sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum. Primani quintanique turbidi adeo, ut quidam saxa in Galbæ imagines jecerint: quintadecima ac sextadecima legiones, nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausæ, initium erumpendi circumspectabant. At in superiori exercitu,[m] quarta ac duoetvicesima legiones, iisdem hybernis[n] tendentes, ipso Calendarum Januariarum die, dirumpunt imagines Galbæ: quarta legio promtius, duoetvicesima cunctanter, mox consensu; ac, ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, 'senatus populique Romani' obliterata jam nomina sacramento advocabant: nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente; quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. Non tamen quisquam in modum concionis, aut suggestu[o] locutus; neque enim erat adhuc, cui imputaretur.[p]

56. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus, consularis legatus, aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus; sed segnis, pavidus,[q] et socordia innocens. Quatuor centuriones duoetvicesimæ legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbæ imagines, impetu militum abrepti vinctique: nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti; sed, quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere. Nocte, quæ Calendas Januarias secuta est, in coloniam Agrippinensem[r] aquilifer quartæ legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat, 'quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones, projectis Galbæ

[m] *Exercitu*] Of Upper Germany.

[n] *Iisdem hybernis*] Mogontiaci, *Mentz*.

[o] *Sugg.*] For a stage was erected, from which the ringleader addressed the revolters: A. i, 18.

[p] *Cui imp.*] For there was no one in that multitude to proclaim himself as the leader in it.

[q] *Segnis, pav.*] We saw in ch. 9. the same faults in his character, and their causes.

[r] *Col. Agr.*] Now *Cologne*. See the origin of the colony in A. xii, 27.

imaginibus, in senatus et populi Romani verba jurasse.' Id sacramentum inane visum: 'occupari nutantem fortunam, et offerri Principem,' placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones legatosque, qui 'descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum,' nuntiarent: 'proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes, aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum Imperatorem: et minore discrimine sumi Principem quam quæri.'

57. Proxima legionis primæ hyberna erant,[s] et promtissimus e legatis Fabius Valens. Is die postero coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus, 'Imperatorem' Vitellium consalutavit.[t] Secutæ ingenti certamine ejusdem provinciæ legiones: et superior exercitus, speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis, tertium Nonas Januarias Vitellio accessit: scires illum priore biduo non penes rempublicam[u] fuisse. Ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses, Treveri, Lingones æquabant, 'auxilia, equos, arma, pecunias' offerentes, ut quisque corpore, opibus, ingenio validus. Nec principes modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus præsentia ex affluenti[v] et parta victoria magnæ spes: sed manipuli quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos[x] phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco pecuniæ tradebant; instinctu et impetu et avaritia.[y]

[s] *Hyb. erant*] Which were at Bonna, now *Bonn*.

[t] *Vitell. cons.*] The transaction is more fully related by Suet. Vitell. 8. 'Vix dum mense transacto, [quo Vitellius in Germaniam inferiorem venerat,] neque diei, neque temporis habita ratione, ac jam vespere subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica, Imperator est consalutatus; circumlatusque per celeberrimos vicos, strictum divi Julii gladium tenens, detractum delubro Martis, atque in prima gratulatione porrectum sibi a quodam: nec ante in prætorium rediit, quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini: tum quidem consternatis, et quasi omine adverso anxiis omnibus, inquit, Bono animo estote, nobis alluxit: nullo sermone alio apud milites usus.'

[u] *Non p. remp.*] Whence you might learn that the army, which two days before had cast away the statues of Galba, and had sworn their allegiance to the senate and the people, 'non penes remp. fuisse,' i.e. did not act so with a wish for a republic, but from their opposition to Galba.

[v] *Ex affl.*] i.e. 'affluenter.' They were already wealthy, and hoped for great things from the victory they should gain.

[x] *Viat.—balt.*] The 'viaticum' is money to pay the expenses of a journey, as appears from Ulpian, Digest. Lib. xii, Tit. 1. de rebus creditis, Leg. 17. See also Suet. Jul. 68. The 'balteus' was a leathern girdle studded with bosses, by which girdle a sword was suspended from the shoulders. 'Phaleræ' are here the ornaments of horses, in which there was commonly a good deal of silver.

[y] *Et av.*] The hope of greater gain.

58. Igitur, laudata militum alacritate, Vitellius, ministeria principatus, per libertos agi solita,[a] in equites Romanos disponit: vacationes[b] centurionibus ex fisco numerat: sævitiam militum plerosque ad pœnam exposcentium, sæpius approbat, partim simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus, procurator Belgicæ, statim interfectus: Julium Burdonem, Germanicæ classis præfectum, astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, tamquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis: et apud sævientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo, licebat. Ita custodia habitus: et post victoriam demum, stratis jam militum odiis, dimissus est. Interim, ut piaculum, objicitur centurio Crispinus, qui se sanguine Capitonis cruentaverat: eoque et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.

59. Julius deinde Civilis periculo exemtus, præpotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartædecimæ legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressæ: prout inclinassent, grande momentum[c] sociæ aut adversæ. Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium, centuriones, de quibus supra retulimus,[d] occidi jussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes. Accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus, Belgicæ provinciæ legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit; et Junius Blæsus, Lugdunensis Galliæ rector, cum Italica legione,[e] et ala Taurina,[f] Lugduni tendentibus. Nec in Rhæticis copiis[g] mora, quominus statim adjungerentur. Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.

60. Præerat Trebellius Maximus,[h] per avaritiam et sordes contemtus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Cælius, legatus vicesimæ legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius 'seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinæ' Cælio; 'spoliatas et inopes legiones' Cælius Trebellio

[a] *Agi sol.*] Particularly under Claudius and Nero.

[b] *Vacationes*] ch. 46.

[c] *Grande mom.*] So Lucan speaks of Curio, whom he finely eulogises, iv, 719. 'Momentumque fuit, mutatus Curio, rerum.'

[d] *Supra retulimus*] ch. 56.

[e] *Ital. leg.*] The first Italic legion.

[f] *Ala T.*] So called from the Taurini, 'antiqua Ligurum stirpe,' Plin. iii, 17. whose capital was Augusta Taurinorum, now *Turin*.

[g] *Rhæticis cop.*] See ch. 68.

[h] *Treb. M.*] 'Segnis et nullis castrorum experimentis.' Agr. 16.

objectabat: cum interim, fœdis legatorum certaminibus, modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiæ ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus, et, aggregantibus se Cælio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit: quies provinciæ, quamquam remoto consulari, mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares jure, Cælius audendo potentior.

61. Adjuncto Britannico exercitu, ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius, duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens 'allicere, vel si abnuerent, vastare Gallias, et Cottianis Alpibus[i] Italiam inrumpere;' Cæcina 'propiore transitu, Peninis jugis[k] degredi' jussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi, cum aquila quintæ legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta millia armatorum data: triginta millia Cæcina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicesima fuit: addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.

62. Mira inter exercitum Imperatoremque diversitas. Instare miles, 'arma' poscere, 'dum Galliæ trepident, dum Hispaniæ cunctentur: non obstare hyemem neque ignavæ pacis moras: invadendam Italiam, occupandam Urbem: nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset.' Torpebat Vitellius, et fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis præsumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis:[l] cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro ducis munia implebat, ut si adesset Imperator, et strenuis vel ignavis spem metumque adderet. Instructi intentique 'signum

[i] *Cott. Alp.*] The Cottian Alps, by which Valens was ordered to break into Italy, are now called *the passage of Briançon, near Suze:* in which place Cottius, the king of the Cottian Alps, having entered into alliance with Octavianus Augustus, had built compendious roads for travellers, as we learn from Am. Marcell. xv, 9.

[k] *Pen. jug.*] The Penina juga, or the Peninæ Alpes, by which Cæcina descended, are now called *the passage of Great St. Bernard.* Pliny, iii, 17. calls them improperly 'Alpes Pœninas,' because 'his Pœnos transisse memorant.' The 'Alpes Peninæ' received their name from the Celtic *pen*, a head or top. There was worshipped there the god Peninus, as we find in an ancient inscription, which was received from Grævius by Gudius, p. liv, n. 6.

LVCIVS. LVCILIVS
DEO. PENINO
OPTIMO
MAXIMO
DONVM. DEDIT.

The Carthaginians passed not by these Alps, but by Mount Genevre.

[l] *Sagina gravis*] Suet. Vitell. 17. 'Erat in eo [Vitellio] enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumque ex vinolentia, venter obesus.'

profectionis' exposcunt. Nomen Germanici[m] Vitellio statim additum: Cæsarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit.[n] Lætum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die, aquila[o] leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viæ, prævolavit: longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritæ alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnæ et prosperæ rei omen acciperetur.

63. Et Treveros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere. Divoduri[p] (Mediomatricorum[q] id oppidum est) quamquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor exterruit, raptis repente armis ad cædem innoxiæ civitatis; non ob prædam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis, eoque difficilioribus remediis; donec, precibus ducis mitigati, ab excidio civitatis temperavere; cæsa tamen ad quatuor millia hominum. Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universæ civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias pueris fœminisque; quæque alia placamenta[r] hostilis iræ, non quidem in bello, sed pro pace, tendebantur.

64. Nuntium de cæde Galbæ et imperio Othonis, Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum[s] accepit: nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidinem permotus: bellum

[m] *Nomen Germanici*] Suet. Vitell. 8. 'Cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis cupide recepit; Augusti distulit; Cæsaris in perpetuum recusavit.' At this time was struck a silver coin, which was in the Museum of the College of Louis XIV. A. VITELLIVS IMP. GERMAN. The head of Vitellius is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse, FIDES EXERCITVVM. Two hands are joined. In the same Museum was another silver coin, A. VITELLIVS GERM. IMP. AVG. TR. P. The head of Vitellius is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse, XVVIR SAC. FAC. i. e. 'quindecimvir sacris faciendis:' a tripod with a dolphin, and underneath is a rook or raven, which was much used in prognostics.

[n] *Victor proh.*] That the name of Cæsar was permitted in the provinces, is shown by a coin struck in Egypt, published by Pellerin, Mélange de Médailles, vol. i, p. 228. Tab. xiii, n. 3. ΩΛΟΥ. ΟΥΙΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΑΥΤ. i. e. 'Auli Vitellii Cæsaris Augusti Germanici Imperatoris:' the head of Vitellius is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse is I. A. i. e. 'primo anno.' Victory is standing, holding a crown in her right, and an olive in her left: unless perchance this coin was struck, when Vitellius superstitiously used afterwards the name of Cæsar, as is related in H. iii, 58.

[o] *Aquila*] Of this kind of eagle we have spoken on A. ii, 17. Afterwards also in the German wars, under Charles V. and Ferdinand, eagles flew before the army; as may be seen in 'Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi,' p. 2.

[p] *Divoduri*] Now called *Metz*.

[q] *Med.*] Mediomatrici, now *Metz* and *Verdun*.

[r] *Placam.*] Veils, fillets, &c. were presented to secure peace, although no war was going on. See ch. 66.

[s] *Civitate Leucorum*] Now *Toul*.

volvebat. Gallis cunctatio exemta, et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingonum civitas erat, fida partibus: benigne excepti, modestia certavere: sed brevis lætitia fuit, cohortium intemperie, quas, a legione quartadecima, ut supra memoravimus,[t] digressas, exercitui suo Fabius Valens adjunxerat. Jurgia primum: mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios: dum his aut illis studia militum adgregantur, prope in prælium exarsere; ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos jam Batavos imperii admonuisset. Frustra adversus Æduos quæsita belli causa. Jussi 'pecuniam atque arma deferre,' gratuitos insuper commeatus[u] præbuere: quod Ædui formidine, Lugdunenses gaudio fecere. Sed legio Italica et ala Taurina[x] abductæ. Cohortem duodevicesimam[y] Lugduni, solitis sibi hybernis,[z] relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens, legatus Italicæ legionis, quamquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum, et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

65. Veterem inter Lugdunenses Viennensesque discordiam[s] proximum bellum accenderat: multæ invicem clades, crebrius infestiusque, quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugdunensium, occasione iræ, in fiscum verterat:[a] multus contra in Viennenses honor: unde æmulatio, et invidia, et uno amne[b] discretis connexum odium. Igitur Lugdunenses exstimulare singulos militum, et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, 'obsessam ab illis coloniam suam,[c] adjutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in præsidium Galbæ' referendo: et, ubi causas odiorum prætenderant, magnitudinem prædæ ostendebant. Nec jam secreta exhortatio, sed publicæ preces: 'Irent ultores, exscinderent sedem Gallici belli:[d] cuncta illic externa et

[t] *Memoravimus*] ch. 59.

[u] *Grat.—comm.*] Gratuitous provisions for the army.

[x] *Ala T.*] ch. 59.

[y] *Coh. duod.*] So in ch. 80. is mentioned the 'septimadecima cohors.'

[z] *Sol. s. hyb.*] A. iii, 41.

[a] *In f. vert.*] In his punishment of the Gauls, who had opposed Vindex.

[b] *Uno a.*] *The Rhone.*

[c] *Col. suam*] The emperor Claudius, who was born at Lyons, made the city a colony, and called it, as appears from ancient inscriptions, C. C. C. AVG. LVG. i. e. 'Coloniam Claudiam Copiam Augustam Lugdunensem.' There was an inscription also on an ancient Bull-sacrifice, COLON. COPIAE. AVG. LVG. See de Colonia, Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon, vol. i, p. 128.

[d] *Gall. belli*] Which had been waged on behalf of Vindex against Nero.

hostilia:[e] se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios: si fortuna contra daret,[f] iratis ne relinquerentur.'

66. His et pluribus in eumdem modum, perpulerant, ut ne legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur; cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses, velamenta et infulas[g] præferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma, genua, vestigia prensando, flexere militum animos. Addidit Valens trecenos[h] singulis militibus sestertios: tum vetustas dignitasque coloniæ[i] valuit, et verba Fabii, salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis, æquis auribus accepta: publice tamen armis mulctati,[k] privatis et promiscuis copiis[l] juvere militem. Sed fama constans fuit, 'ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emtum.' Is diu sordidus, repente dives, mutationem fortunæ male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus, immoderatus, et, inopi juventa, senex prodigus. Lento deinde agmine, per fines Allobrogum[m] et Vocontiorum[n] ductus exercitus: ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce, fœdis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter, ut Luco[o] (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur: quotiens pecuniæ materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum.

[e] *Cuncta—host.*] On account of their taking the side of Galba: otherwise Vienne was also a Roman colony, and more ancient than that of Lyons. There was this difference in the two colonies, as Lacarry observes in his Historia Coloniarum, p. 192. that Lyons was a colony under the 'jus Romanum,' Vienne under the 'jus Italicum.' Thus is removed the difficulty, which Lipsius and de Marca found here.

[f] *Contra daret*] Prove adverse. A. xv, 13. 'Quotiens fortuna contra daret.' *Iratis*, sc. the people of Vienne.

[g] *Vel. et inf.*] The badges of suppliants. So in Livy, xxiv, 30. 'ramos oleæ ac velamenta alia supplicum porrigentes, orare, ut reciperent sese, receptosque tutarentur.'

[h] *Trecenos*] sc. sestertios: 2*l.* 10*s.* But when Valens, as we saw in ch. 61 and 64. added the Italic legion and the 'ala Taurina' to his 40,000 troops, the people of Vienne paid 113,875*l.* Besides, Valens himself was 'emtus multa pecunia.'

[i] *Vet.—colon.*] Which the emperor Claudius called in his oration 'ornatissimam valentissimamque Viennensium coloniam.'

[k] *Arm. mulct.*] They were ordered to supply arms, as is said of the Ædui, ch. 64.

[l] *Prom. cop.*] Not only 'privatis,' but also 'promiscuis,' i. e. laid by for the use of the whole army.

[m] *Allobrogum*] Allobroges; now part of Dauphiné and Savoy.

[n] *Vocontiorum*] Vocontii; now *Vaison and Die, in Dauphiné.*

[o] *Luco*] Plin. iii, 5. 'Vocontiorum civitatis fœderatæ duo capita, Vasio, [now *Vaison,*] et Lucus Augusti,' now *Luc*: but the greatest part of Lucus is covered with water.

67. Plus prædæ ac sanguinis Cæcina hausit. Inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens,[p] olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de cæde Galbæ ignari, et Vitellii imperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicesimæ legionis: rapuerant pecuniam, missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur: ægre id passi Helvetii, interceptis epistolis, quæ nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam militum in custodia retinebant. Cæcina, belli avidus, proximam quamque culpam, antequam pœniteret, ultum ibat. Mota propere castra: vastati agri: direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus, amœno salubrium aquarum[q] usu frequens: missi ad Rhætica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem[r] Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur.

68. Illi, ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi, quamquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere: exitiosum adversus veteranos prælium, intuta obsidio, dilapsis vetustate mœnibus: hinc Cæcina cum valido exercitu; inde Rhæticæ alæ cohortesque et ipsorum Rhætorum juventus, sueta armis et more militiæ exercita: undique populatio et cædes: ipsi in medio[s] vagi, abjectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Vocetium[t] perfugere: ac statim, immissa cohorte Thracum, depulsi, et, consectantibus Germanis Rhætisque, per sylvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum millia cæsa, multa sub corona[u] venumdata: cumque, dirutis omnibus, Aventicum,[v] gentis caput, justo agmine peteretur, missi qui dederent civi-

[p] *Helvetii, Gallica gens*] Cæs. B. G. i, 1. 'reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis præliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.' The Helvetii extended much farther than the modern Helvetii, or Swiss.

[q] *Salubr. aq.*] Hence that municipium was called Aquæ, now *Baden*, in Switzerland. Among other ancient relics, there is mentioned in an inscription found there, and dedicated to Antoninus Caracalla, RESP. AQV. i.e. 'respublica Aquensis.' See Plant. Helv. Antiq. et Nova, p. 283.

[r] *Vers. in leg.*] To attack the Helvetii in the rear, who had turned their arms against the 21st legion, with a view of revenging an injury done them.

[s] *In med.*] Between the Roman army and the Rhætic auxiliaries.

[t] *Mont. V.*] Now *the mountain of Boetzberg.* It is part of Mount Jura.

[u] *Sub corona*] See on A. xiii, 39.

[v] *Aventicum*] It is called in German *Wiflispurg*, but in French *Avenches*, after the old name. The splendor of the city, which was formerly the

tatem: et deditio accepta. In Julium Alpinum, e principibus, ut concitorem belli, Cæcina animadvertit: ceteros veniæ vel sævitiæ Vitellii reliquit.

69. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem Imperatorem an militem invenerint: 'civitatis excidium' poscunt; tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem minis ac verbis temperabat: cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex legatis, notæ facundiæ, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans, atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit: ut est mos vulgo; mutabile subitis, et tam pronum in misericordiam, quam immodicum sævitia fuerat: effusis lacrymis, et meliora constantius postulando, impunitatem salutemque civitati impetravere.

70. Cæcina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiæ Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, lætum ex Italia nuntium accipit, 'alam Syllanam,[x] circa Padum[y] agentem, sacramento Vitellii accessisse.' Proconsulem[z] Vitellium Syllani in Africa habuerant: mox a Nerone, ut in Ægyptum præmitterentur,[a] exciti, et ob bellum Vindicis revocati, ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti, robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attollebant, transiere in partes; et, ut donum aliquod novo Principi, firmissima Transpadanæ regionis municipia, Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam ac Vercellas,[b] adjunxere. Id Cæcinæ per ipsos compertum: et, quia præsidio alæ unius latissima pars Italiæ defendi

capital of the country, is evidenced to this day by many relics, which have been published by Schmidt in his Recueil d'Antiquités trouvées à Avenches, à Culm, et en d'autres lieux de la Suisse.

[x] *Alam Syllanam*] In Mss. Corb. Agr. and ed. pr. *Silanam* and *Silani*. Hence it is uncertain whether it was called after Sylla or Silanus.

[y] *Padum*] Now *the Po*, by the Greeks called Eridanus, and well known for the punishment inflicted on Phaëton. It is famous for its tributary streams, and 'triginta flumina in mare Adriaticum defert,' Plin. iii, 16.

[z] *Proconsulem*] Suet. Vitell. 5. '[Vitellius] proconsulatum Africæ—administravit—[qua] in provincia singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitisset.'

[a] *Præmitt.*] In his preparations for a war in Æthiopia.

[b] *Ep. ac V.*] Mediolanum, *Milan*; Novaria, *Novara, in the Milanese*; Eporedia, *Ivrée*; Vercellæ, *Vercelli, in Piedmont*. Plin. iii, 17. 'Oppidum Eporedia, Sibyllinis a populo Romano conditum jussis. Eporedias Galli bonos equorum domitores vocant.' See also Paterc. i, 15. There is mentioned in an ancient inscription, Théâtre de Savoie, vol. i, p. 105. P. METELLVS DECVRIO EPOREDIAE IIVIR, i.e. 'duumvir.'

nequibat, præmissis Gallorum Lusitanorum Britannorumque cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis, cum ala Petrina,[c] ipse paululum cunctatus, num Rhæticis jugis[d] in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium, ibi procuratorem,[e] qui concitis auxiliis, et interruptis fluminum pontibus, fidus Othoni putabatur: sed metu, ne amitteret præmissas jam cohortes alasque, simul reputans, plus gloriæ retenta Italia, et ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriæ præmia cessuros, Penino[f] subsignanum militem[g] itinere, et grave legionum agmen,[h] hybernis adhuc Alpibus traduxit.

71. Otho interim, contra spem omnium, non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatæ voluptates, dissimulata luxuria, et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita: eoque plus formidinis adferebant falsæ virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium Celsum,[i] consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum sævitiæ militum subtractum,[k] acciri in Capitolium jubet: clementiæ titulus e viro claro, et partibus inviso, petebatur. Celsus, constanter servatæ erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus, exemplum ultro imputavit:[l] nec Otho, quasi ignosceret, sed, ne hostis metum reconciliationis[m] adhiberet, statim inter intimos amicos habuit, et mox bello inter duces delegit: mansitque Celso, velut

[c] *Ala Petrina*] See A. xi, 4.

[d] *Rhæt. jug.*] Now *the mountains in the Grison country:* the highest part of the Alps.

[e] *Procur.*] Petronius was the procurator of Noricum.

[f] *Pen.*] Penino itinere, i. e. 'Peninis jugis,' ch. 61.

[g] *Subs. mil.*] As Cæcina's army consisted of legionaries and auxiliaries, as was said in ch. 61. it would seem that here by the 'subsignanus miles' are understood the auxiliaries which followed their standards: but below in H. iv, 33. the 'subsignanus miles' is distinguished from the auxiliaries, and is said also of the legionaries. Yet there is no contradiction here: but it proves that by the 'subsignanus miles,' are meant those who were under flags or standards, but not under eagles, whether they were auxiliaries, or vexillaries, or legionaries. This appears from comparing together H. i, 70. and iii, 24. 33.

[h] *Leg. agm.*] Therefore besides the 21st legion, of which in ch. 61. there were many cohorts of the 4th and 22nd legions, of which in ch. 55.

[i] *M. Celsum*] ch. 14. 31. and 39.

[k] *Subtractum*] See ch. 45.

[l] *Ultro imp.*] By this instance of good faith so intrepidly shown to Galba, he proved that he would be equally faithful to Otho. Thus was 'exemplum ultro Othoni imputatum.' We had in ch. 38. 'Hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet.'

[m] *Metum reconcil.*] *Ne hostis*, i. e. Vitellius, *adhiberet metum reconciliationis*, so as to make Otho more formidable and more hated. And so Huet: 'Ne, accepto inclementius Celso, metum Vitellio injiceret, quominus sibi reconciliari vellet.'

fataliter,[n] etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. Læta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus, ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eamdem virtutem admirantibus,[o] cui irascebantur.

72. Par inde exultatio, disparibus causis consecuta, impetrato Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus,[p] obscuris parentibus, fœda pueritia, impudica senecta, præfecturam vigilum et prætorii et alia præmia virtutum quia velocius erat vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam et virilia scelera exercuit; corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone; quædam ignaro ausus, ac postremo ejusdem desertor ac proditor. Unde non alium pertinacius ad pœnam flagitavere,[q] diverso adfectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat, et quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam T. Vinii potentia defensus, prætexentis, 'servatam ab eo filiam:' et haud dubie servaverat, non clementia, (quippe tot interfectis) sed effugio in futurum: quia pessimus quisque, diffidentia præsentium mutationem pavens, adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam præparat; unde nulla innocentiæ cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti T. Vinii invidia: concurrere e tota Urbe in palatium ac fora, et, ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi, seditiosis vocibus obstrepere: donec Tigellinus, accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas[r] supremæ necessitatis nuntio, inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras, sectis novacula faucibus, infamem vitam fœdavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto.

73. Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia Crispinilla, variis frustrationibus, et adversa dissimulantis Principis fama, periculo exemta est: magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum,[s] famem populo Romano haud obscure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari

[n] *Velut fat.*] As Celsus had preserved intire his allegiance to Galba, so he preserved it intire to Otho, but, as if by fate, disastrous to both emperors: for Celsus retained his consulate under Vitellius himself: H. ii, 60.

[o] *Admir.*] So also Livy of Camillus, v, 26. 'Magna militum ira: sed severitate imperii victi, eamdem virtutem et oderant et mirabantur.'

[p] *Tigellinus*] Often mentioned in the Annals, xiv. xv. and xvi.

[q] *Flagitavere*] But in vain; since he was protected by the power of Titus Vinius.

[r] *Sinuess. aq.*] A. xii, 66.

[s] *Clodium Macrum*] See H. i, 7.

matrimonio subnixa, et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitellium inlæsa: mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quæ bonis malisque temporibus juxta valent.

74. Crebræ interim, et muliebribus blandimentis infectæ, ab Othone ad Vitellium epistolæ, offerebant 'pecuniam et gratiam et quemcumque quietis locum prodigæ vitæ legisset.' Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione: mox, quasi rixantes, stupra et flagitia invicem objectavere; neuter falso. Otho, revocatis, quos Galba miserat, legatis,[t] rursus alios ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam, easque, quæ Lugduni agebant,[u] copias, specie senatus misit. Legati apud Vitellium remansere, promtius quam ut retenti viderentur. Prætoriani, quos, per simulationem officii, legatis Otho adjunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miscerentur.[x] Addidit epistolas Fabius Valens, nomine Germanici exercitus, ad prætorias et urbanas cohortes, de viribus partium magnificas, et concordiam offerentes. Increpabat ultro, 'quod tanto ante[y] traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.' Ita promissis simul ac minis tentabantur; 'ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri:' neque ideo prætorianorum fides mutata.

75. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in Urbem missi: utrisque frustra fuit; Vitellianis impune, per tantam hominum multitudinem, mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani, novitate vultus, omnibus invicem ignaris, prodebantur. Vitellius literas ad Titianum, fratrem Othonis, composuit, 'exitium ipsi filioque ejus' minitans, 'ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi[z] servarentur.' Et stetit domus utraque: sub Othone, incertum an metu; Vitellius victor clementiæ gloriam tulit.

76. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, jurasse in eum Dalmatiæ ac Pannoniæ et Mœsiæ legiones. Idem ex Hispania allatum: laudatusque per edictum

[t] *Legatis*] See H. i, 74.

[u] *Lugduni agebant*] See H. i, 59.

[x] *Leg. misc.*] Lest they should alienate the legions from Vitellius, and bring them over to Otho.

[y] *Tanto ante*] The empire was vested in Vitellius on the 1st of January, and in Otho on the 15th.

[z] *Ac lib.*] These children of Vitellius and Galeria Fundana may be seen in the gold and silver coins of Vitellius, A. VITELLIVS GERM. IMP. AVG. TR. P.: the head is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse, LIBERI IMP. GERM. i. e. 'liberi Imperatoris Germanici.' Two youthful heads facing each other (adversa). In some coins there is a star between the two heads. For these children of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vit. 6.

Cluvius Rufus:[a] et statim cognitum est, conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quamquam a Julio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit: nusquam fides aut amor; metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquæ provinciæ, et quidquid armorum mari dirimitur,[b] penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio; sed erat grande momentum in nomine Urbis[c] ac prætextu senatus; et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Judaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriæ legiones[d] Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere: simul Ægyptus[e] omnesque versæ in Orientem provinciæ nomine ejus tenebantur. Idem Africæ obsequium, initio a Carthagine orto. Neque expectata Vipstani Aproniani, proconsulis, auctoritate, Crescens, Neronis libertus, (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se reipublicæ faciunt) epulum plebi, ob lætitiam recentis imperii, obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem ceteræ civitates secutæ. Sic

[a] *Cl. Rufus*] Who was the governor of Spain. H. i, 8.

[b] *Mari dirim.*] Where was a great quantity of arms, a large number of legions and auxiliaries, and very wealthy provinces.

[c] *Nom. Urb.*] The name of the city, which Otho occupied, had great influence: for Rome was the capital of the empire, and powerful in its resources: the seeming authority of the senate also, which supported the party of Otho, carried influence with it. I say nothing here of the sacred and occult name of the city, spoken of much by Pliny, iii, 5. and xxviii, 2. Rome was powerful rather by its inherent strength and resources, than by this occult sanctity.

[d] *Syriæ leg.*] To give credit to the new reign by the coin, and to circulate immediately money bearing the name of Otho, there was stamped on the coins of Tiberius at Hierapolis in Phrygia and at Tripoli in Syria, the monogram IMP. OTH., or 'Imperatoris Othonis.' In the same haste the people of Tripoli had a little before stamped Nero's coins with the monogram IMP. GA. or 'Imperatoris Galbæ.' See Pellerin, Mélange de Diverses Médailles, vol. ii, p. 37. Then also was struck by Mucianus an iron medal of Otho, found in the collection of Earl Pembroke, and in the Museum Theupolitanum, vol. ii, p. 849. IMP. M. OTHO CAE. AVG. The head of Otho. On the reverse, in a crown, ΕΠΙ. ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. ΕΤ. ΖΙΡ. i.e. 'sub Muciano, Antiochensium [nummus] anno 117.' A similar coin of Galba we saw on ch. 10. above.

[e] *Simul Æg.*] And at the same time were struck at Alexandria in Egypt coins with the inscription, ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΜΑΡΚ. ΟΘΩΝΟΣ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ.: The head of Otho wreathed with laurels: and before the head L. A. i. e. 'Imperatoris Marci Othonis Cæsaris Augusti primo anno.' On the other side ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ: the head of Egypt with a proboscis. The reverse of other coins represents a woman standing up, having in her right hand a little Victory, and in her left a cornucopia, with the superscription ΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΣ, i. e. 'empire.' See Pellerin, Mélange de Diverses Médailles, vol. i, p. 228. Tab. xiii, n. 1 and 2.

distractis exercitibus ac provinciis, Vitellio quidem ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat.

77. Otho, ut in multa pace, munia imperii obibat: quædam ex dignitate reipublicæ, pleraque contra decus ex præsenti usu properando. Consul[g] cum Titiano fratre in Calendas Martias ipse; proximos menses Verginio destinat, ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delinimentum: jungitur Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus, prætextu veteris amicitiæ; plerique, Viennensium honori[h] datum interpretabantur. Ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbæ mansere. Cælio ac Flavio Sabinis in Julias, Arrio Antonino[i] et Mario Celso in Septembres: quorum honori ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. Sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque[k] honoratis jam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit: et recens ab exilio reversos nobiles adolescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis, in solatium, recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo,[l] Pedio Blæso, Sevino Pomptino senatorius locus, qui repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant. Placuit ignoscentibus,[m] verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri majestatem; cujus tum odio etiam bonæ leges peribant.

[g] *Consul*] Otho and his brother Titianus were then the consuls: they had been elected to supply vacancies. The consuls of this year were very numerous: on the calends of January, A.U.C. 822. the consuls were Galba and Vinius. Hist. i, 1.—Calends of March, Salvius Otho and Titianus Otho. Hist. i, 77.—Calends of May, Verginius Rufus and Pompeius Vopiscus. Hist. i, 77. — Calends of July, Cælius Sabinus and Flavius Sabinus. Hist. i, 77.—Calends of September, Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus. Hist. i, 77.—Calends of November, Fabius Valens and Alienus Cæcina. Hist. ii, 1. Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the senate on the day before the calends of January, A.U.C. 823. the consul for a single day, being the last of the year, was Roscius Regulus. Hist. iii, 37.

[h] *Vienn. hon.*] The Viennese, who had sided with Vindex, were at that time powerful in Gaul; the Lyonnese were on the contrary depressed in their circumstances. See ch. 65.

[i] *A. Anton.*] Of Antoninus Pius, afterwards the good emperor, 'avus maternus Arrius Antoninus, bis consul, homo sanctus,' Jul. Capitolin. in Antonin. I. See this excellent and learned man eulogised in the epistles which Pliny wrote to him, iv, 3. 18. v, 10.

[k] *Pontif. auguratusque*] Hence in ancient inscriptions among the titles of distinguished men occur frequently the following, PONTIFEX. AVGVR. SACERDOS.

[l] *Cadio Rufo*] See A. xii, 22. For Ped. Blæsus, see A. xiv, 18.

[m] *Plac. ign.*] Otho and the senators, who forgave the crime, chose to change its nature by changing its name; and that which had been the crime of avarice they called treason. This last crime had now fallen into such disrepute in consequence of the condemnation of so many innocent persons, that even the just and proper laws concerning it were disused: for such as were accused of it were held guiltless, although they had committed many other crimes.

78. Eadem largitione civitatum quoque ac provinciarum animos adgressus, Hispaliensibus et Emeritensibus[n] familiarum adjectiones,[o] Lingonibus universis[p] civitatem Romanam, provinciæ Bæticæ Maurorum civitates[q] dono dedit: nova jura Cappadociæ, nova Africæ, ostentui magis, quam mansura. Inter quæ, necessitate præsentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem immemor amorum,[r] statuas Poppææ per senatusconsultum reposuit. Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse, spe vulgum alliciendi:[s] et fuere, qui imagines Neronis proponerent;[t] atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, 'Neroni Othoni' adclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit,[u] vetandi metu, vel agnoscendi pudore.

79. Conversis ad civile bellum animis, externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani,[v] Sarmatica gens, priore hyeme cæsis duabus cohortibus, magna spe ad

[n] *Hispaliensibus et Emeritensibus*] Hispalis, now *Seville*, in Andalusia: Emerita, now *Merida*, in Estremadura.

[o] *Familiarum adjectiones*] So Liv. xliii, 17. 'Postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum coloniarum augeret [better, *numerus — augeretur*], mille et quingentæ familiæ ex senatusconsulto scriptæ.'

[p] *Ling. univ.*] So all the Mss. Lipsius suspected the reading, but it may be nevertheless correct.

[q] *Maur. civ.*] He wished that the citizens of the Mauritanians should go to Bætica for their law-proceedings, and attend its courts. To this perhaps refers Rufus Festus, in Breviario, c. 5. 'Trans fretum etiam in solo terræ Africæ provincia Hispaniarum est, quæ Tingitania Mauritania cognominatur.' That the principal cities of the Moors that were given to Bætica, were Tingi and Lixus, now *Tanja* and *Alkasr*, is justly imagined by Aldrete in his Varias Antiguedades de Espana, Africa, y otras Provincias. Lib. iv, ch. 21.

[r] *Imm. am.*] A. xiii, 45, 46. But we saw in A. xiv, 61. the statues of Poppæa thrown down. At Rome, in the Farnesian gardens, on mount Palatine, there is still an excellent statue of Poppæa in a sitting posture.

[s] *Vulg. all.*] For attachment to Nero's memory lasted long among the lower classes: nor 'defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent: ac modo imagines prætextatas in rostris proferrent, modo edicta, quasi viventis, et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri.' Suet. Ner. 57.

[t] *Propon.*] Expose to the public. So Plin. xxxv, 4. of M. Valerius Max. Messala, 'qui princeps tabulam picturæ prælii, quo Carthaginienses et Hieronem in Sicilia devicerat, proposuit in latere curiæ Hostiliæ, anno ab Urbe condita 490.'

[u] *In suspenso tenuit*] So Suet. Oth. 7. 'Super ceteras gratulantium adulantiumque blanditias, ab infima plebe appellatus Nero, nullum indicium recusantis dedit: immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistolis suis ad quosdam provinciarum præsides, Neronis cognomen adjecit.'

[v] *Rhoxol.*] They lived between Borysthenes, *the Dnieper*, and Tanais, *the Don*; now *part of Russia and Tartary*.

Mœsiam[x] inruperant: novem millia equitum, ex ferocia et successu prædæ magis quam pugnæ intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio,[y] adjunctis auxiliis, repente invasit: apud Romanos omnia prælio apta: Sarmatæ, dispersi cupidine prædæ, aut graves onere sarcinarum, et lubrico itinerum ademta equorum pernicitate, velut vincti cædebantur: namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos:[z] nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit.[a] Sed tum humido die et soluto gelu, neque conti,[b] neque gladii, quos prælongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et cataphractarum[c] pondere. Id principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegmen, ferreis laminis aut præduro corio consertum; ut adversus ictus impenetrabile, ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum: simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facili lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim defendi scuto mos est) cominus fodiebat; donec pauci, qui prælio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur: ibi sævitia hiemis et vi vulnerum absumti. Postquam id Romæ compertum, M. Aponius, Mœsiam obtinens, triumphali statua,[d] Fulvius Aurelius et Julianus Tertius ac Numisius Lupus, legati legionum,[e] consularibus ornamentis[f] donantur: læto Othone, et gloriam in se trahente,[g] 'tamquam et ipse felix bello, et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rempublicam auxisset.'

[x] *Mœsiam*] Now *Bulgaria* and *Servia*. Mœsia extended from Taurunum, now *Semlin*, to the Pontus, now *the Black Sea*. Plin. iii, 26.

[y] *Tertia legio*] Which 'transierat' from Syria into Mœsia: H. ii, 74.

[z] *Extra ipsos*] Finely expressed: for their valor lay in their horses and coats of mail.

[a] *Obstit.*] So fight to this day, and with the same impetuosity, the Poles, a Sarmatian people, as Huet rightly observes.

[b] *Conti*] Long spears headed with iron. A. vi, 35.

[c] *Cataphr.*] Such and heavier still were the crupellarii mentioned in A. iii, 43.

[d] *Triumph. stat.*] For the triumphal statues in the forum, see A. xv, 72.

[e] *Leg. leg.*] Commonly there were only two legions in Mœsia, as we learn from A. iv, 5. but at this time there was present also a third legion, of which mention is made presently. Hence there were three 'legati legionum:' Fulvius Aurelius, of the third; Julianus Titius, of the seventh or Claudian; and Numisius Lupus, of the eighth legion.

[f] *Consularibus orn.*] See A. xii, 21.

[g] *In se trah.*] It was at this time that some gold and silver coins were struck, on whose reverse stands Victory, holding in her right a crown, in her left an olive or another crown, with the superscription, VICTORIA OTHONIS.

80. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta seditio prope Urbi excidio fuit. Septimamdecimam cohortem[h] e colonia Ostiensi[i] in Urbem acciri Otho jusserat: armandæ ejus cura Vario Crispino, tribuno e prætorianis, data. Is, quo magis vacuus, quietis castris,[k] jussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis, incipiente nocte, onerari, aperto armamentario, jubet. Tempus in suspicionem; causa in crimen; affectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles, et tribunos centurionesque 'proditionis' arguit, 'tamquam familiæ senatorum[l] ad perniciem Othonis armarentur:' pars ignari et vino graves: pessimus quisque in occasionem prædarum: vulgus, ut mos est, cujuscumque motus novi cupidum: et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant: rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis Urbem ac palatium petunt.

81. Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus fœminis virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor, an dolus Imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi, an fugere et dispergi, periculosius foret; modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri; utque evenit, inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus, et præfectos prætorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat, et 'abire propere omnes e convivio' jussit. Tum vero passim magistratus, projectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes fœminæque, per tenebras, diversa Urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta, et, ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere.

[h] *Sept. coh.*] Of the classiarii, as appears from Suet. Oth. 8. 'Ducibus et copiis, quas Vitellius præmiserat, appropinquantibus, animum fidemque prætorianorum erga se, pene internecione amplissimi ordinis, expertus est [Otho]: et placuerat per classiarios arma transferri, remittique navibus. Ea cum in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quidam suspicati, tumultum excitaverunt: ac repente omnes, nullo certo duce, in palatium cucurrerunt, cædem senatus flagitantes: repulsisque tribunorum, qui inhibere tentabant, nonnullis et occisis, sicut erant cruenti, ubinam Imperator esset requirentes, perruperunt in triclinium usque, nec nisi viso destiterunt.' The seventeenth cohort seems to be the same as that which Claudius had placed 'Ostiæ ad arcendos incendiorum casus:' Suet. Claud. 25.

[i] *Col. Ost.*] Now *Ostia.* Of this town frequent mention is made above.

[k] *Quiet. castr.*] So Lips. well: because the watches were placed, and all were in their tents except the guards.

[l] *Familiæ sen.*] The servants of the senators.

82. Militum impetus ne foribus quidem palatii coercitus, quominus convivium irrumperent, 'ostendi sibi Othonem' expostulantes: vulnerato Julio Martiale, tribuno,[m] et Vitellio Saturnino, præfecto legionis,[n] dum ruentibus obsistunt. Undique arma et minæ, modo in centuriones tribunosque, modo in senatum universum; lymphatis cæco pavore animis, et, quia neminem unum destinare iræ poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus: donec Otho, contra decus imperii, toro insistens, precibus et lacrymis ægre cohibuit: redieruntque in castra inviti, neque innocentes. Postera die, velut capta Urbe, clausæ domus; rarus per vias populus; mœsta plebs; dejecti in terram militum vultus, ac plus tristitiæ quam pœnitentiæ. Manipulatim[o] adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus, præfecti,[p] ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in eo, ut quina millia nummum[q] singulis militibus numerarentur. Tum Otho ingredi castra ausus: atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumsistunt, abjectis militiæ insignibus,[r] 'otium et salutem'[s] flagitantes. Sensit invidiam miles, et compositus in obsequium, 'auctores seditionis ad supplicium' ultro postulabat.

83. Otho, quamquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque 'remedium præsentis licentiæ' posceret; vulgus et plures, seditionibus et ambitioso imperio[t] læti, per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum impellerentur: simul reputans, non posse principatum, scelere quæsitum, subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri;

[m] *Tribuno*] Of the prætorian soldiers: H. i, 28.

[n] *Præf. leg.*] A judge, and the deputy of the 'legatus legionis' in his absence: Veget. ii, 9. He was certainly inferior to the latter. Hence in ancient inscriptions in Gruter, p. 347, n. 1. P. AELIO MARCELLO.—PRIMIPILO LEG. VII. GEM. PIAE. FEL. ADLECTO. AD. MVNERA. PRAEFF. LEGG. VII. CLAV. ET. PRIMAE. ADIVTRICIS. i. e. 'præfectorum legionum septimæ Claudianæ, et primæ adjutricis.' We often read elsewhere of the præfects of the legions, and they seem always inferior to the 'legatus.'

[o] *Manipul.*] Each band of the prætorian troops.

[p] *Præfecti*] The prætorian præfects: H. i, 46.

[q] *Quina m. n.*] 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* There was spent therefore in this largess 375,000*l.*, and all for a frail authority!

[r] *Mil. insign.*] The badge of the tribunes was a parazonium or sword. Hence Martial, xiv, 32. in an epigram inscribed Parazonium: 'Militiæ decus hoc et grati nomen honoris: Arma tribunicium cingere digna latus.' The badge of the centurions was a vine, as has been before said.

[s] *Et sal.*] For, as we saw in ch. 80. the tribune and centurions were murdered by the soldiers.

[t] *Amb. imp.*] Sought and retained 'per ambitum.'

sed discrimine Urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit: ‘Neque ut affectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt); sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestræ fortitudinis, et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium, non cupiditate vel odio, quæ multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra, acrius quam consideratius, excitavit: nam sæpe honestas rerum causas, ni judicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consequuntur. Imus ad bellum: num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis præsentibus tractari, ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? Tam nescire quædam milites, quam scire, oportet. Ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinæ habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum juberi expediat: si, ubi jubeantur, quærere singulis liceat; pereunte obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit. An et illic nocte intempesta rapientur arma? Unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine manus imbuet? Imperatoris sui tentorium irrumpet?

84. ‘Vos quidem istud pro me:[u] sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus ejus eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes imprecentur? quid aliud, quam seditionem et discordiam, optabunt? ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur: hinc confusi, pedites equitesque, in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius,[v] commilitones, quam imperia ducum sciscitando, res militares continentur: et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestræ regimen relinquite. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum pœna erit. Ceteri abolete memoriam fœdissimæ

[u] *Istud pro me*] sc. egistis. *Patefieri, &c.* i. e. some inimical or malevolent person may make use of the opportunity to destroy me.

[v] *Parendo p.*] So also Paul. Æmilius in his speech to the soldiers, in Liv. xliv, 34. ‘Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere quid agendum sit debere; nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium: qui non sint advocati, eos nec palam, nec secreto jactare consilia sua. In quo exercitu, milites, consul et imperator rumoribus vulgi circumaguntur, ibi nihil salutare esse.’

noctis: nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus umquam exercitus audiat. Caput imperii,[x] et decora omnium provinciarum, ad pœnam vocare, non hercle illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant. Ulline Italiæ alumni, et Romana vere juventus, ad sanguinem et cædem deposcerent ordinem, cujus splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium perstringimus? Nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius, imaginem quamdam exercitus habet: senatus nobiscum est: sic fit, ut hinc respublica, inde hostes reipublicæ constiterint. Quid? vos pulcherrimam hanc Urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promiscua sunt: æternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. Hunc auspicato a parente et conditore Urbis nostræ institutum, et a regibus usque ad Principes continuum et immortalem, sicut a majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus: nam, ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus Principes nascuntur.'

85. Ea oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos, et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti jusserat) grate accepta, compositique ad præsens, qui coerceri non poterant. Non tamen quies Urbis redierat: strepitus telorum et facies belli erat: militibus, ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos, occulto habitu,[y] et maligna cura in omnes, quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus objecerat. Vitellianos quoque milites venisse in Urbem ad studia partium noscenda, plerique credebant: unde plena omnia suspicionum, et vix secreta domuum sine formidine; sed plurimum trepidationis in publico. Ut quemque nuntium fama attulisset, animum vultumque conversi, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere prosperis viderentur. Coacto vero in curiam senatu, arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas: et privato Othoni nuper, atque eadem dicenti,

[x] *Caput imp.*] sc. the senators. *Ulline, &c.*, and would you, prætorian troops, demand to be given up to slaughter that sacred order, &c.

[y] *Occ. hab.*] A plebeian, not a military dress. This malignant painstaking of spies is described by Arrian, Epictet. iv, 13. *Οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ οἱ προπετεῖς λαμβάνονται. Παρακεκάθικέ σοι στρατιώτης ἐν σχήματι ἰδιωτικῷ, καὶ ἀρξάμενος κακῶς λέγειν τὸν Καίσαρα, εἶτα σὺ ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τῆς πίστεως, τὸ αὐτὸν τῆς λοιδορίας κατῆρχθαι, λέγεις καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα φρονεῖς· εἶτα δεθεὶς, ἀπάγῃ.*

nota adulatio: igitur versare sententias, et huc atque illuc torquere, 'hostem et parricidam' Vitellium vocantes: providentissimus quisque, vulgaribus conviciis;[z] quidam vera probra jacere, in clamore tamen, et ubi plurimæ voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.

86. Prodigia insuper terrebant, diversis auctoribus vulgata. 'In vestibulo Capitolii[a] omissas habenas bigæ, cui Victoria institerat: erupisse cella Junonis[b] majorem humana speciem: statuam divi Julii in insula[c] Tiberini amnis, sereno et immoto die, ab Occidente in Orientem conversam: prolocutum in Etruria bovem: insolitos animalium partus:' et plura alia, rudibus seculis etiam in pace observata, quæ nunc tantum in metu audiuntur: sed præcipuus et cum præsenti exitio etiam futuri pavor, subita inundatione Tiberis; qui immenso auctu, proruto ponte Sublicio,[d] ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo jacentia et plana Urbis loca, sed secura hujusmodi casuum implevit.[e] Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti: fames in vulgus, inopia quæstus et penuria alimentorum: corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum fundamenta,[f] dein, remeante flumine,[g] dilapsa: utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id

[z] *Vulg. conv.*] Cautious men used only hackneyed declamation, which is easily forgiven: some persons less prudent volunteered invectives which were founded on truth, but which are always punished; yet from fear of impending danger they threw them out amidst noise and clamor, where the voices were many, and where they drowned each other.

[a] *Vestib. Cap.*] Of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. From this prodigy was foretold the uncertainty or the dissolution of the reins of empire.

[b] *Cella J.*] It joined to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and was under the same roof.

[c] *Insula*] Now *l'Isola di S. Bartolomeo.*

[d] *Ponte Subl.*] It was often restored afterwards. Only the ruins of it now remain near the Porta Portese.

[e] *Implevit*] A similar inundation happened on the 4th of November, 1660. The Tiber increased to such a degree, that its waters flowed over the walls of the city, seized on the largest districts of it, and in the wide street Strada del Corso rose nearly to a man's height: from the Ponte Molle to the steps of St. Peters they were navigated by boats of rather a large description; and, after destroying the Pons Sublicius, they filled the Pantheon, overthrew many houses and trees, and killed many persons in shops and in their beds. See Cornelius Meyer, l'Arte di restituire à Roma la tralasciata Navigatione del suo Tevere.

[f] *Insul. fund.*] Of plebeian houses. See on these 'insulæ,' A. xv, 41. 43.

[g] *Rem. fl.*] Observe that these destructive inundations arise as well from waters flowing down from mountains, as from waters flowing back from the sea. Whence Horace, Od. i, 2, 13. 'Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore Etrusco violenter undis, Ire dejectum monumenta regis, Templaque Vestæ.'

ipsum, quod paranti expeditionem Othoni, campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum[h] a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis, in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.

87. Otho, lustrata Urbe,[i] et expensis belli consiliis, quando Peninæ Cottiæque Alpes[k] et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam adgredi statuit, classe valida[l] et partibus fida, quod reliquos cæsorum ad pontem Milvium, et sævitia Galbæ in custodiam habitos, in numeros legionis[n] composuerat; facta et ceteris spes honoratioris[o] in posterum militiæ. Addidit classi urbanas cohortes et plerosque e prætorianis, vires et robur exercitus, atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes.[p] Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi, primipilaribus, Æmilio Pacensi,[q] cui ademtum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa. Curam navium Oscus libertus retinebat, ad observandam honestiorum fidem[r] invitatus. Peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paullinus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus, rectores destinati: sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo, prætorii præfecto: is urbanæ militiæ impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paullini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus, bonos et modestos anteibat.

88. Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella[s] in coloniam Aquinatem,[t] neque arcta custodia, neque ob-

[h] *Esset obstr.*] By the ruins here, which had been drawn together by the flood, through its vicinity to the bed of the Tiber. Hence among the adverse omens which presented themselves, it is mentioned by Suet. Oth. 8. '[Otho ad bellum proficiscens,] primo egressu inundationibus Tiberis retardatus, ad vigesimum etiam lapidem ruina ædificiorum præclusam viam offendit.'

[i] *Lustr. U.*] For these lustrations, see A. xiii, 24.

[k] *Peninæ—Alpes*] H. i, 61.

[l] *Classe val.*] Which was in the Portus Forojuliensis, now *Frejus.*

[n] *Num. leg.*] So that they no more belonged to the fleet, but to the legions. Of the 'numeri legionis,' frequent mention has been made before.

[o] *Honoratioris*] Since the service of the legions ranked higher than that of the navy, they were inspired with hopes of entering the legions.

[p] *Custodes*] To prevent them from abandoning Otho. So in H. i, 74. we saw the prætorian troops quartered with the 'legati.'

[q] *Æmilio Pacensi*] See H. i, 20.

[r] *Honest. f.*] Of the better-disposed in the fleet.

[s] *Corn. Dol.*] He seems to be the same person, whom Suetonius, Galb. 12. calls Cneius Dolabella, and who was intended to succeed to the throne: Plut. Galb. p. 1063.

[t] *Coloniam Aquinatem*] Now *Aqui-*

scura; nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbæ monstratus.[u] Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem, Otho, non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie, secum expedire jubet: in queis et L. Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut Imperatoris fratrem, nec ut hostis.[x] Igitur motæ Urbis curæ:[y] nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus: primores senatus ætate invalidi et longa pace desides: segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas; ignarus militiæ eques; quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nec deerant e contrario, qui ambitione stolida, conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et inritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et reipublicæ cura; levissimus quisque, et futuri improvidus, spe vana tumens: multi adflicta fide in pace, ac turbatis rebus alacres, et per incerta tutissimi.

89. Sed vulgus, et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus, sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quæ, motu Vindicis, haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum Urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit: nam, ex quo divus Augustus res Cæsarum composuit, procul, et in unius[z] solicitudinem aut decus, populus Romanus bellaverat. Sub Tiberio et Caio, tantum pacis adversa pertimuere: Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita: Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque, et quod raro alias, prætorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti: Oriens Occidensque et quidquid utrimque virium est a tergo:[a] si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. Fuere, qui proficiscenti Othoni moras, 'religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium,'[b] adferrent.

no, in Terra di Lavoro. A coin of this city was first given to the public by Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes, vol. i, p. 39. On one side is a head wearing a helmet; on the other, a cock: AQVINO.

[u] *Monstratus*] And consequently suspected not only by Otho, but even by Galba, and afterwards by Vitellius.

[x] *Nec ut hostis*] As below an emperor's brother, so beyond an enemy's brother.

[y] *Motæ U. c.*] By this military array.

[z] *Unius*] The emperor.

[a] *A tergo*] In the rear of Otho was the east; in the rear of Vitellius was the west.

[b] *Nond. cond. anc.*] Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, had

Aspernatus est omnem cunctationem, ut Neroni quoque exitiosam: et Cæcina, jam Alpes transgressus, exstimulabat.

90. Pridie Idus Martias,[c] commendata patribus republica, reliquias Neronianarum sectionum,[d] nondum in fiscum conversas, revocatis ab exilio concessit: justissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed, festinata jampridem exactione,[e] usu sterile. Mox vocata concione, 'majestatem Urbis et consensum populi ac senatus' pro se attollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit: 'inscitiam potius legionum, quam audaciam,' increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione: sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis, sibi metuens, contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit: quando, ut in consiliis militiæ Suetonio Paullino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galerii Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur: et erant, qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre, et ad implendas aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque vulgi, ex more adulandi, nimiæ et falsæ: quasi dictatorem Cæsarem, aut Imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant; nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii, ut in familiis,[f] privata cuique stimulatio et vile jam decus publicum. Præfectus Otho,[g] quietem Urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.

given out, that, as long as Rome preserved the ancilia which fell from the gods, it would be invincible. Hence the honor paid the ancilia. Every year, in the beginning of the month of March, in which the festival of Mars was celebrated, the ancilia, which all the rest of the year were kept in his temple, were removed: for Numa had ordered the Salii 'cœlestia arma, quæ ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per Urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solemnique saltatu.' Liv. i, 20. Thirty days were dedicated to these ceremonies, as we learn from Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 23. See also Suetonius, as quoted in the next chapter.

[c] *Prid. I. M.*] The 14th of March.

[d] *Neron. sect.*] The confiscations of property. Of the 'sectores,' see A. xiii, 23.

[e] *Exactione*] In this age of avarice the directors of the imperial revenue had long ago made use of the purchase-money of the confiscated property: and therefore this liberality, though very just, was more magnificent in appearance, than intrinsically useful.

[f] *Ut in fam.*] This is well explained by Huet: 'Servos dixisses, cujusmodi solent esse in familiis, non plebem ingenuam.' So Saville also explained this passage.

[g] *Prof. Otho*] He went on the 24th of March, as appears from Suet. Oth. 8. 'Expeditionem autem impigre, atque etiam præpropere inchoavit: nulla ne religionum quidem cura, sed et motis necdum conditis ancilibus, quod antiquitus infaustum haberetur: et die, quo cultores Deum matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt.' This day, which was called the day of blood, was the ix. Kal. Apr. See Trebellius Pollio in Claud. iv.

HISTORIÆ.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

Chap. 1. Titus, sent by his father Vespasian to congratulate Galba, hears of that emperor's death, and stops at Corinth; he resolves to return to Syria, and sails to Rhodes and Cyprus; at the last place he visits the temple of the Paphian Venus; some account of the goddess, and the rites of worship; he lands in Syria—5. Character of Vespasian and of Mucianus; they lay aside their mutual animosities, and act in concert; the legions of the east resolved to have a share in the making of emperors—8. A counterfeit Nero detected and seized—10. From trivial matters great discord at Rome; Vibius Crispus accuses Annius Faustus, an informer, and procures his condemnation, though hated himself for the same practices—11. An account of Otho's forces—12. His fleets command the sea extending to the maritime Alps; the city of Intemelium sacked and plundered by the Othonians; the exemplary courage of a mother in the protection of her son—14. Otho's fleet infests the coast of Narbon Gaul; an engagement with the Vitellians in that quarter, in which the Othonians had the advantage—16. Pacarius, the governor of Corsica, favors the cause of Vitellius, and is murdered—17. Cæcina, with the Vitellian forces, enters Italy and besieges Placentia; Spurinna, one of Otho's officers, defends the place; Cæcina raises the siege, and retires with his army to Cremona; a battle at that place, and the Othonians prove victorious; Valens enters Italy; Cæcina resolves to strike a blow before the arrival of that general; he lays a snare for the Othonians, but is defeated by Suetonius Paulinus at a place called Castorum; king Epiphanes, on Otho's side, is wounded—27. Valens arrives at Ticinum; a violent sedition occasioned by the Batavians; Valens joins the army under Cæcina—31. Comparison of Otho and Vitellius; Otho holds a council to deliberate on the plan of the war; some are for delay, others for an immediate action; Otho is for a decisive blow, and by advice retires to Brixellum—34. Cæcina and Valens wait for the motions of the enemy; a bridge thrown over the Po to amuse Otho's forces, who are worsted in a skirmish—37. A report that both armies were inclined to peace shown to be highly improbable—39. Titianus, Otho's brother, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian bands, entrusted with the chief command; they encamp within four miles of Bedriacum; Otho, by despatches from Brixellum, hurries them on to an engagement—41. The battle of Bedriacum; the Othonians defeated, and on the next day lay down their arms; the Vitellians enter the camp, and both armies embrace with tears of joy—45. Otho is weary of civil war, and, though the soldiers are still devoted to his cause, resolves to prevent farther effusion of

blood; he falls on his own sword; his funeral immediately performed; some of the men slay themselves near the funeral pile—50. Otho's origin and character—51. A mutiny among his soldiers; Verginius in danger from their fury—52. A great part of the senate, who had followed Otho, involved in danger—55. Tranquillity prevails at Rome; the games in honor of Ceres celebrated according to custom; Otho's death made known in the theatre; the people declare for Vitellius with shouts of applause—56. Italy ravaged by the Vitellians—57. Vitellius advances towards Italy, and hears of the victory gained by his officers; the two Mauritanias declare in his favor; Albinus their governor cut off by the emissaries of Cluvius Rufus, who had passed over from Spain into Africa—60. Vitellius orders the bravest of Otho's centurions to be put to death; the wild attempt of Maricus in Gaul; in a fit of enthusiasm he calls himself a god; he is taken and put to death—62. The gluttony of Vitellius; Italy exhausted to supply his voracious appetite; in his despatches to Rome he declines for the present the name of Augustus, and wholly rejects that of Cæsar; the judicial astrologers banished out of Italy; laws for restraining the Roman knights from appearing on the stage, or in the games of the circus—63. Dolabella put to death with treachery by Vitellius; the furious temper of Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius, and the amiable character of his mother Sextilia—65. Cluvius Rufus arrives from Spain, and is pardoned by Vitellius; the vanquished troops still retain their ferocity; a quarrel between the Batavians and the soldiers of the fourteenth legion—68. A violent sedition at Ticinum, while Vitellius carouses at a feast—70. Vitellius proceeds to Cremona, and views the field of battle at Bedriacum, which was still covered with a dreadful carnage; he vies with the luxury of Nero, and marches to Bononia, still plunging into deeper debauchery as he draws nearer to Rome—72. A slave of the name of Geta assumes the name of Scribonianus; he is detected, and put to death by order of Vitellius—74. Deliberations held in the east by Vespasian and Mucianus; the speech of Mucianus on the occasion—77. Vespasian encouraged by the responses of oracles; his consultation on Mount Carmel—79. Vespasian is declared emperor, first in Egypt, and afterwards by the army in Syria—81. The kings Sohemus, Antiochus, and Agrippa, as also queen Berenice, enter into the league—82. Plan of the war; Vespasian holds Egypt in his possession; his son Titus carries on the war against the Jews; Mucianus sets out on his march towards Italy—85. The legions in Mœsia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia revolt to Vespasian, at the instigation of Antonius Primus and Cornelius Fuscus—87. Vitellius, at the head of a prodigious multitude, all debauched by luxury, enters the city of Rome—90. He makes a speech, in pompous terms celebrating his own praise; his conduct there—92. Cæcina and Valens carry on the administration; sloth, riot, and mortality among the soldiers; Vitellius in want of money, and yet prodigal beyond all measure; Asiaticus, his freedman, amasses enormous wealth—95. The people distressed, and yet the birthday of Vitellius celebrated with pomp and profusion; the emperor performs the funeral obsequies of Nero; rumors of a revolt in the east ineffectually suppressed; Vitellius sends for succors into Spain, Germany, and Britain, but endeavors to disguise the necessity—99. Parties of the enemy advance into Italy; Cæcina and Valens ordered to take the field; Cæcina's treachery; he combines with Lucilius Bassus, the commander of the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum.

These transactions passed in a few months after the death of Galba, and Vinius his colleague in the consulship.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
822	69	M. Salvius Otho, Salvius Otho Titianus.
		L. Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
		Cælius Sabinus, T. Flavius Sabinus.
		T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus.

1. [A.U.C. 822. J.C. 69.] Struebat jam fortuna, in diversa parte terrarum, initia causasque imperio, quod varia sorte, lætum reipublicæ aut atrox, ipsis Principibus prosperum aut exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Judæa, incolumi adhuc Galba, missus a patre,[a] causam profectionis 'officium erga Principem et maturam petendis honoribus juventam' ferebat: sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat, 'accitum in adoptionem.' Materia sermonibus, senium et orbitas Principis[b] et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium, quantæcumque fortunæ capax, decor oris cum quadam majestate, prosperæ Vespasiani res, præsaga responsa,[c] et, inclinatis ad credendum animis, loco ominum etiam fortuita.[d] Ubi Corinthi, Achaiæ urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbæ, et aderant, qui arma Vitellii bellumque adfirmarent; anxius animo, paucis amicorum adhibitis, cuncta utrimque perlustrat. 'Si pergeret in Urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti; ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris: sed incerta adhuc victoria, et concedente in partes patre, filium excusatum: sin Vespasianus rempublicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.'

2. His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum, spes vicit. Fuere, qui, 'accensum desiderio Berenices reginæ,[e] vertisse iter' crederent: neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus: sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum: lætam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio modestior. Igitur oram Achaiæ et Asiæ, ac læva maris[f] prætervectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas,

[a] *Patre*] Vespasian, who was an object of suspicion to Galba. Hence Suet. Galb. 23. 'Senatus, ut primum licitum fuit statuam ei, [Galbæ,] decreverat, rostratæ columnæ superstantem in parte fori, qua trucidatus est. Sed decretum Vespasianus abolevit, percussores sibi ex Hispania in Judæam submisisse opinatus.'

[b] *Principis*] Galba.

[c] *Responsa*] Titus had been brought up in the palace with Britannicus in the same manner and under the same masters. 'Quo quidem tempore, aiunt metoposcopum a Narcisso, Claudii liberto, adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse, illum quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope adstabat, utique imperaturum,' Suet. Tit. 2.

[d] *Fortuita*] In this disposition of the public mind, even incidents, that were the mere result of chance, were turned into arguments in favor of his imperial dignity.

[e] *Beren. reg.*] Berenice, sister of Agrippa II. wife of Herod the king of Chalcis.

[f] *Læva m.*] The sea-coast of Asia was on Titus's left, as he returned to Syria.

inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis[g] petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiæ Veneris,[h] inclitum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum, initia religionis, templi situm, formam Deæ, neque enim alibi sic habetur, paucis disserere.

3. 'Conditorem templi regem Aeriam'[i] vetus memoria, quidam 'ipsius Deæ nomen[k] id' perhibent. Fama recentior tradit, 'a Cinyra[l] sacratum templum, Deamque ipsam, conceptam mari, huc appulsam: sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam; et Cilicem Thamyram intulisse: atque ita pactum, ut familiæ utriusque posteri cærimoniis præsiderent.' Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa, quam intulerant, scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiæ, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur. Certissima fides hædorum fibris. Sanguinem aræ obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quamquam in aperto,[m] madescunt. Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana: continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo,[n] exsurgens: et ratio in obscuro.[o]

4. Titus, spectata opulentia donisque regum,[p] quæque alia lætum antiquitatibus[q] Græcorum genus incertæ vetustati adfingit, 'de navigatione' primum consuluit: postquam 'pandi viam et mare prosperum' accepit, de se per ambages interrogat, cæsis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen erat) ubi læta et congruentia exta, magnisque consultis annuere Deam, videt, pauca in præsens et solita respondens, petito secreto, futura aperit. Titus, aucto animo, ad patrem pervectus, suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus, ingens rerum fiducia[r]

[g] *Aud. spatiis*] Not now coasting the shore, but being out at sea.

[h] *Templum—Veneris*] A. iii, 62.

[i] *Regem Aeriam*] A. iii, 62.

[k] *Deæ nomen*] So Pausan. i, 14. calls her Οὐρανία.

[l] *Cinyra*] King of Assyria: Apollod. iii. and Hygin. Fab. 170.

[m] *Quamq. in aperto*] So also Plin. ii, 96. 'Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.' Harduin in his second edition corrects *aream* for *aram*.

[n] *Metæ modo*] The statue of the Paphian Venus was not of human form, but rose into a conical shape. See Spanhem. de Præstant. et Usu Numism. vol. i, p. 505.

[o] *Ratio in obscuro*] See a famous painting published by the Herculanean academicians, in the Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano, vol. iii, Tab. 52.

[p] *Donisque reg.*] See A. iii, 63.

[q] *Lætum antiq.*] This was always a characteristic of the Greeks. Hence the many relics of their superstitions.

[r] *Rerum fiducia*] Derived from the answer of Sostratus.

accessit. Profligaverat[s] bellum Judaicum Vespasianus; oppugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere, ob ingenium montis[t] et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus,[u] ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitæ bello: quatuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace; sed æmulatio et proximi exercitus[v] gloria repulerat segnitiam; quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexpertus belli labor: auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque, et classes regesque, ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

5. Vespasianus, acer militiæ, anteire agmen,[x] locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio, ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti; cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans: prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant: aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus; egregium principatus temperamentum, si, demtis utriusque vitiis, solæ virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriæ, ille Judææ præpositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus, invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis, positis odiis, in medium consuluere: primum per amicos; dein præcipua concordiæ fides Titus, prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat; natura atque arte compositus adliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centurionesque, et vulgus militum, industria, licentia, per virtutes, per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis[y] acceperat uterque exercitus, præcipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis, et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus

[s] *Proflig.*] Had nearly brought to an end. A new expression, as may be seen in Gell. xv, 5. The same word had been used by Augustus, as appears from an Ancyran inscription, in Chishull's Antiq. Asiaticæ, p. 174. COEPTA. PROFLIGATAQUE. OPERA. A PATRE. MEO. PERFECI.

[t] *Ingen. montis*] So Plin. xiv, 1. 'Ad cœli mores, solique ingenia.' xvii, 2. 'Ad soli naturam, ad loci ingenium, ad cœli cujusque mores dirigenda solertia est.'

[u] *Memorav.*] H. i, 10.

[v] *Prox. exerc.*] The army, which under Vespasian had nearly brought the Jewish war to an end.

[x] *Anteire agmen*] So Jul. Cæsar, as we learn from Suet. Jul. 57. 'in agmine nonnumquam equo, sæpius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset.'

[y] *Sacr. Othonis*] See the coin cited in H. i, 76.

Oriens tunc primum parabat; namque olim validissima inter se civium arma, in Italia Galliave, viribus Occidentis cœpta: et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant; auditique sæpius in Syria Judæaque Cæsares, quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum: tantum adversus Parthos minæ, vario eventu:[z] et proximo civili bello,[a] turbatis aliis, inconcussa ibi pax: dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut, 'Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire,' vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii præmia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere. Septem legiones[b] sta-

[z] *Vario eventu*] A. xv, 24. 27.

[a] *Prox.—bello*] In which Vindex and Galba rebelled against Nero.

[b] *Septem legiones*] The names of the several legions were as follows: *Legio prima*, the first legion. *Legio prima Italica*, the first Italic legion, raised by Nero, as appears in Dio, lv. *Legio prima adjutrix*, an additional legion, according to Dio raised by Nero from the marines, and for that reason called *Legio prima adjutrix classicorum*. *Legio secunda*, the second legion. *Legio secunda adjutrix*, raised by Vespasian during the war with Vitellius. *Legio tertia*, the third legion; stationed in Syria. *Legio tertia;* another, called also the third, in Egypt. *Legio tertia;* another, stationed in Africa. *Legio quarta*, the fourth legion, called, to distinguish it from another fourth legion, *Legio quarta Macedonica*. *Legio quarta*, another fourth legion, called, for the sake of distinction, *Legio quarta Scythica*. *Legio quinta*, the fifth legion. *Legio quinta Macedonica*, the fifth legion, called the Macedonian. *Legio sexta*, the sixth legion, sometimes called *Legio sexta victrix*. *Legio sexta ferrata;* another sixth legion, with the addition of *ferrata*, to distinguish it from the former. *Legio septima Claudiana*, the seventh, called also the Claudian. *Legio septima Galbiana*, the seventh, called the Galbian. *Legio octava*, the eighth legion, sometimes called *Invicta*. *Legio nona*, the ninth legion, sometimes called *Gemina*, because it was one legion formed out of two. *Legio decima*, the tenth legion, quartered in Spain. *Legio decima*, another tenth legion, quartered in Judea. *Legio undecima*, the eleventh legion, sometimes with the additional title of *Claudiana*. *Legio duodecima*, the twelfth legion, sometimes called *Legio duodecima fulminea*. *Legio tertia decima*, the thirteenth legion, called also *Gemina*, because composed of two united into one. *Legio quarta decima*, the fourteenth legion. *Legio quinta decima*, the fifteenth legion, stationed in the Lower Germany. *Legio quinta decima*, another fifteenth legion, quartered in Judea, sometimes called *Legio quinta decima Apollinaris*. *Legio sexta decima*, the sixteenth legion. *Legio septima decima*, the seventeenth legion, thought to be one of those that suffered in the slaughter of Varus. *Legio duodevicesima*, the eighteenth legion, another of the legions under Varus. *Legio undevicesima*, the nineteenth legion, another legion under Varus. *Legio vicesima*, the twentieth legion, called by Dio *Valeria victrix*. *Legio una et vicesima*, the twenty-first legion, sometimes with the addition of *rapax*. *Legio duo et vicesima*, the twenty-second legion, stationed in Germany. *Legio duo et vicesima*, another twenty-second legion, quartered in Egypt. *Legio e classicis*, a legion formed out of the marine soldiers by Vitellius in his last distress, but soon received into Vespasian's

tim, et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Judæaque: inde continua Ægyptus duæque legiones: hinc Cappadocia[c] Pontusque, et quidquid castrorum Armeniis prætenditur. Asia et ceteræ provinciæ, nec virorum inopes et pecuniæ opulentæ: quantum insularum mari cingitur,[d] et parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.

7. Non fallebat duces impetus militum; sed, bellantibus aliis, placuit expectari bellum: 'victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere: nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem Fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolescere: discordiam his,[e] ignaviam, luxuriem: et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum.' Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis:[f] optimus quisque amore reipublicæ; multos dulcedo prædarum stimulabat; alios ambiguæ domi res. Ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

8. Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritæ, velut Nero adventaret; vario super exitu ejus rumore,[g]

party, and never more distinguished. Such were the names of the legions that occur in Tacitus. If from the whole number we deduct the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, which were all cut off under Varus, and also the last, formed out of the marines by Vitellius, and heard of no more, it will appear that, in the beginning of the ensuing wars, the military establishment, exclusive of the forces in Italy, consisted of thirty legions. Their stations were as follows: In Britain. The second, ninth, twentieth.—In Spain. The first adjutrix, the sixth, the tenth.—In Gaul. The first Italic.—In Lower Germany. The first, fifth, fifteenth, sixteenth.—In Upper Germany. The fourth, twenty-first, twenty-second.—In Pannonia. The seventh Galbian, the thirteenth.—In Dalmatia. The eleventh, the fourteenth.—In Mœsia. The seventh Claudian, the eighth.—In Syria. The third, fourth, sixth, twelfth.—In Judea. The fifth, tenth, fifteenth.—In Egypt. The third, the twenty-second.—In Africa. The third.

[c] *Cappad.*] That Cappadocia, like other parts of the east, took Otho's side, appears from a coin struck at Cæsarea, in Morell's Thesaur. Numism. vol. ii, p. 202. CA. OΘΩNOC KAIC. CEBACTOY, i. e. 'Salvii Othonis Cæsaris Augusti.' Otho's head is bare. On the reverse, KAICAPEAC, 'Cæsareæ.' Mount Argæus. Below ET. A. i. e. 'anno primo.'

[d] *Mari cingitur*] Every thing was favorable: the islands and the sea itself were safe, &c.

[e] *His*] Vitellius and Otho.

[f] *Mixtis consiliis*] Vespasian and Mucianus had been lately reconciled to each other, having been before that at variance through envy: but their friends had after Nero's death met in mutual consultation, as we saw in ch. 5.

[g] *Super—rumore*] H. i, 2. And, according to Suet. Ner. 57. there were not wanting those, 'qui per longum tempus [proferrent] edicta, quasi viventis [Neronis], et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri.'

eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus[h] conatusque in contextu operis dicemus. Tunc servus e Ponto, sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharæ et cantus peritus, (unde illi, super similitudinem oris, propior ad fallendum fides) adjunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam[i] detrusus, et militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium[k] adscivit, vel abnuentes interfici jussit, et spoliatis negotiatoribus, mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit; centurionemque Sisennam, dextras, concordiæ insignia,[l] Syriaci exercitus nomine ad prætorianos ferentem, variis artibus adgressus est: donec Sisenna, clam relicta insula, trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret: inde late terror, multis ad celebritatem nominis erectis, rerum novarum cupidine et odio præsentium.

9. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit. Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias[m] Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat: datæ e classe Misenensi[n] duæ triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit: nec defuere, qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent: is in mœstitiam compositus, et 'fidem suorum quondam militum' invocans, 'ut eum in Syria aut Ægypto[o] sisterent,' orabat. Trierarchi nutantes, seu dolo, 'adloquendos sibi milites, et paratis omnium animis reversuros,' firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cujus cohortatione expugnata navis, et interfectus quisquis ille erat. Corpus, insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus,[p] in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

10. In civitate discordi, et ob crebras Principum mutationes inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta, parvæ quoque res magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum, equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat: nam recens, Galbæ principatu, censuerant patres, 'ut ac-

[h] *Ceterorum casus*] Of the other false Neros. Other impostors appeared afterwards.

[i] *Cythnum insulam*] One of the Cyclades; now called *Thermia.*

[k] *Commeantium*] See on H. i, 46.

[l] *Concordiæ insignia*] See on H. i, 54.

[m] *Provincias*] Bordering on Pontus.

[n] *Classe Misen.*] A. iv, 5.

[o] *Aut Ægypto*] Like Nero, who was undetermined whether to go to Syria or to Egypt.

[p] *Torvitate vultus*] The same ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance as he was dying.

cusatorum[q] causæ noscerentur.' Id senatusconsultum, varie jactatum, et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum, retinebatur. Ad hæc terrore et propria vi Crispus incubuerat, delatorem fratris sui[r] pervertere: traxeratque magnam senatus partem, 'ut indefensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium' postularent. Contra apud alios nihil æque reo proderat, quam nimia potentia accusatoris: 'dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum' censebant. Et valuere primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio: mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo adsensu civitatis, quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum præmio exercuisse meminerant: nec pœna criminis, sed ultor displicebat.

11. Læta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium ejus e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quatuor legiones: e quibus bina millia præmissa; ipsæ modicis intervallis sequebantur: septima a Galba conscripta; veteranæ undecima ac tertiadecima et præcipua fama quartadecumani, rebellione Britanniæ[s] compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero, eligendo, ut potissimos; unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, et erecta in Othonem studia: sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat: agmen legionum alæ cohortesque præveniebant. Ex ipsa Urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque prætoriæ cohortes, et equitum vexilla cum legione prima:[t] ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo millia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna[u] ad occupandas Padi ripas præmissus; quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant, transgresso jam Alpes Cæcina, quem sisti intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum[v] lecta corpora, cum ceteris prætoriis cohortibus, veterani e prætorio,[x] classicorum ingens nume-

[q] *Accusatorum*] See these defined in A. iv, 30. by the title of 'delatores.'

[r] *Fratris sui*] Vibius Secundus, condemned of extortion: A. xiv. 28.

[s] *Rebell. Brit.*] A. xiv, 29. &c. Suet. Ner. 39, 40.

[t] *Legione prima*] An additional legion. See note in ch. 6.

[u] *V. Spurinna*] The same as the person mentioned by Plin. Ep. ii, 7. iii, 1. 10.

[v] *Speculatorum*] H. i, 24.

[x] *Vet. e præt.*] Who had served in the prætorian cohorts, and were retained under the 'vexillum,' until they received their dismission. A. i, 17. 36.

rus. Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu[y] iter: sed lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedester, horridus, incomtus, famæque dissimilis.

12. Blandiebatur cœptis Fortuna, possessa per mare et naves majore Italiæ parte, penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium:[z] quibus tentandis adgrediendæque provinciæ Narbonensi, Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Æmilium Pacensem duces dederat.[a] Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus: Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinæ corruptus, ita præliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri, nec loca sedesque patriæ videbantur: tamquam externa littora, et urbes hostium, urere, vastare, rapere; eo atrocius, quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertæ domus: occursantes domini juxta conjuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente, (nec deest juventus) arcere provinciæ finibus Othonianos intendit: sed primo impetu cæsi disjectique montani, ut quibus, temere collectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus, neque in victoria decus esset, neque in fuga flagitium.[b]

13. Inritatus eo prælio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albium Intemelium:[c] quippe in acie nihil prædæ: inopes agrestes et vilia arma: nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum: sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam præclaro exemplo fœmina Ligus,[d] quæ filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam

[y] *Corr. luxu*] Juvenal gives a different representation, but is perhaps not quite just in his censures: ii, 99. 'Ille tenet speculum pathici gestamen Othonis, Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat Armatum, cum jam tolli vexilla juberet. Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recenti Historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli! Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam, Et curare cutem summi constantia civis; Bebriaci campo spolium affectare Palatî, Et pressum in facie digitis extendere panem, Quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Semiramis orbe, Mœsta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina.' We saw in H. i, 88. the great number of luxurious persons who disgraced the army of Otho.

[z] *Maritimarum Alpium*] A. xv, 32.

[a] *Duces dederat*] H. i, 87.

[b] *In fuga flagitium*] In the Roman discipline this crime was punishable with death, as we learn from Arrius Menander, Digest. Lib. xlix, Tit. 16. de re militari, Leg. 6, n. 3. 'Qui in acie prior fugam fecit, spectantibus militibus, propter exemplum capite puniendus est.'

[c] *Albium Intem.*] Now *Vintimille.*

[d] *Fœmina Ligus*] Ligus, i. e. In-

occultari milites credidissent, eoque per cruciatus interrogarent 'ubi filium occuleret,' uterum ostendens, 'latere' respondit. Nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis egregiæ mutavit.

14. 'Imminere provinciæ Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii adactæ, classem Othonis,' Fabio Valenti trepidi nuntii adtulere. Aderant legati coloniarum, auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum[e] cohortes, quatuor equitum turmas, universam Treverorum[f] alam cum Julio Classico, præfecto, misit: e quibus pars in colonia Forojuliensi[g] retenta, ne, omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis, vacuo mari[h] classis adceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmæ, et lecti e cohortibus, adversus hostem iere: quibus adjuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium,[i] et quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis.[k] Nec mora prælio:[l] sed acie[m] ita instructa, ut pars classicorum, mixtis paganis,[n] in colles mari propinquos exsurgeret; quantum inter colles ac littus æqui loci, prætorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari[o] ut adnexa classis et pugnæ parata, conversa, et minaci fronte prætenderetur. Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis jugis, cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum turmæ obtulere se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgeret apta ad jaciendum etiam paganorum manus; qui sparsi inter milites,[p] strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. Additus perculsis[q] terror, invecta in terga pugnantium classe. Ita undique clausi: deletæque omnes copiæ forent, ni victorem exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.[r]

temelia, now *Vintimille:* for Strabo says expressly, lib. iv, p. 202. Τῶν οὖν Λιγύων τῶν μὲν ὄντων Ἰγγαύνων, τῶν δὲ Ἰντεμελίων.

[e] *Tungrorum*] Tungri, now *Tongri*.

[f] *Treverorum*] Treveri, now *Treves*.

[g] *Colonia Forojuliensi*] Now *Frejus*. See A. iv, 5.

[h] *Vacuo mari*] The shore being protected by no garrisons.

[i] *Vetus—auxilium*] Of the Colonia Forojuliensis. The Ligures are now *the States of Genoa, &c.*

[k] *Nond. sub signis*] 500 of the Pannonian levy, yet raw troops, and therefore 'nondum sub signis.' See A. ii, 78. 80.

[l] *Prælio*] It was fought, as appears from the description of Tacitus, between Antipolis, now *Antibes*, and Albium Intemelium, now *Vintimille*.

[m] *Acie*] Of Otho's troops.

[n] *Paganis*] See H. i, 53.

[o] *In ipso mari*] *Classis*, Otho's fleet. *Adnexa*, close to the shore. *Conversa*, having not the sterns, as in time of peace, but the stems and the beaks, as in time of war, in front.

[p] *Milites*] Otho's troops.

[q] *Perculsis*] Vitellius's troops.

[r] *Obtentui fugientibus*] The obscurity of the night assisted and pro-

15. Nec Vitelliani, quamquam victi, quievere: accitis auxiliis, securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt: cæsi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud naves; donec, sidente paulatim metu, occupato juxta[s] colle defensi, mox irrupere. Atrox ibi cædes, et Tungrarum cohortium præfecti, sustentata diu acie, telis obruuntur. Ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria fuit, quorum improvide secutos conversi equites[t] circumvenerunt. Ac velut pactis induciis, ne hinc classis, inde eques, subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim,[u] Narbonensis Galliæ municipium; Othoniani Albingaunum[v] interioris Liguriæ, revertere.

16. Corsicam ac Sardiniam, ceterasque proximi maris insulas, fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit: sed Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli, nihil in summam[x] profutura, ipsi exitiosa: namque, Othonis odio, juvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiamsi provenisset.[y] Vocatis principibus insulæ, consilium aperit: et contradicere ausos, Claudium Phirricum, trierarchum liburnicarum[z] ibi navium, Quinctium Certum, equitem Romanum, interfici jubet: quorum morte exterriti, qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba, in verba Vitellii juravere. Sed, ubi delectum agere Pacarius, et inconditos homines fatigare militiæ muneribus occœpit, laborem insolitum perosi, infirmitatem suam reputabant: 'insulam esse, quam incolerent, et longe Germaniam[a] viresque legionum: direptos vastatosque classe,[b] etiam quos cohortes alæque protegerent.' Et aversi repente animi; nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus insidiis legere. Digressis, qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops, balineis interficitur, trucidati et comites. Capita, ut hostium, ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere: neque eos aut Otho præmio adfecit,

tected Vitellius's troops in their flight. So Sallust, Fragm. Hist. vi, 58. 'Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat:' i, 10. 'Secundæ res mire sunt vitiis obtentui.'

[s] *Juxta*] Near the camp.

[t] *Equites*] Of Vitellius.

[u] *Antipolim*] Now *Antibes*.

[v] *Albingaunum*] This place, now called *Albinga*, was among the Ligures Ingauni.

[x] *In summam*] A. xiii, 38. 'Nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur.'

[y] *Etiamsi provenisset*] Even if the plan had succeeded.

[z] *Liburnicarum*] A. xvi, 14.

[a] *Longe Germ.*] Which with the German legions had taken the side of Vitellius.

[b] *Vast. classe*] ch. 12. &c.

aut punivit Vitellius, in multa colluvie rerum majoribus flagitiis[c] permixtos.

17. Aperuerat jam Italiam, bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus,[d] ala Syllana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent; sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat, faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiæ latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium,[e] armis Vitellii (namque et præmissæ a Cæcina cohortes advenerant) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam.[f] Intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque:[g] quo successu Vitellianus miles non jam flumine aut ripis arcebatur. Inritabat quinetiam Batavos Transrhenanosque[h] Padus ipse: quem repente, contra Placentiam, transgressi, raptis quibusdam exploratoribus, ita ceteros terruere, ut 'adesse omnem Cæcinæ exercitum,' trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent.

18. Certum erat Spurinnæ (is enim Placentiam obtinebat) necdum venisse Cæcinam, et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem, nec tris prætorias[i] cohortes et mille vexillarios, cum paucis equitibus, veterano exercitui objicere. Sed indomitus miles, et belli ignarus, correptis signis vexillisque, ruere, et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque,[k] qui 'proditionem, et accitum Cæcinam,' clamitabant. Fit temeritatis alienæ comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.

19. Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox appetebat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor, urbano militi insolitus, contudit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare 'credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen' ostendere, 'si cum exercitu Cæcina, patentibus campis, tam paucas

[c] *Majoribus flagitiis*] So A. xvi, 8. '[Multi] Neronem, circa summa scelera distentum, quasi minores evasere.'

[d] *Supra memoravimus*] Hist. i, 70.

[e] *Camporum et urbium*] Camporum, *Piedmont, Montferrat, and the Milanese:* urbium, Mediolanum, Novaria, Eporedia, Vercellæ. See H. i, 70.

[f] *Cremonam*] Still called *Cremona.*

[g] *Placentiam Ticinumque*] Placentia, now *Piacenza*; Ticinum, now *Pavia.*

[h] *Batavos Transrhenanosque*] These people were accustomed to sport in the waves, and to show their dexterity in swimming, as was said at A. ii, 8.

[i] *Tris præt.*] So the ancients often said for *tres.*

[k] *Tribunisque*] There used to be wrongly added here in the text, *providentiam ducis laudantibus.*

cohortes circumfudisset.' Jamque totis castris modesti sermones, et, inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque, laudare 'providentiam ducis, quod coloniam,[l] virium et opum validam, robur ac sedem bello legisset.' Ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam exprobrans, quam ratione ostendens, relictis exploratoribus, ceteros Placentiam reduxit, minus turbidos, et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctæ turres, provisa parataque non arma modo, sed obsequium et parendi amor; quod solum illis partibus[m] defuit, cum virtutis haud pœniteret.[n]

20. At Cæcina, velut relicta post Alpes[o] sævitia ac licentia, modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniæ in superbiam trahebant; quod versicolore sagulo,[p] braccas,[q] tegmen barbarum, indutus, togatos adloqueretur: uxorem quoque ejus, Saloninam, quamquam in nullius injuriam insignis equo ostroque[r] veheretur, tamquam læsi gravabantur: insita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introspicere, modumque fortunæ a nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo videre. Cæcina, Padum transgressus, tentata Othonianorum fide per colloquium et promissa, iisdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus jactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiæ magno terrore vertit; gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore.

21. Sed primus dies impetu magis, quam veterani exercitus artibus, transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo vinoque prægraves. In eo certamine, pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros, conflagravit: sive ab oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes ac missilem ignem in obsessos jaculantur; sive ab obsessis,

[l] *Coloniam*] Placentia was a colony, as we find by Plin. iii, 15.

[m] *Illis partibus*] Otho's.

[n] *Haud pœn.*] Huet well explains it: 'Cum haud spernenda, vel pœnitenda virtute pollerent.'

[o] *Post Alpes*] Tacitus says well *post*, as he was writing in Italy.

[p] *Sagulo*] A shorter kind of *sagum*. Mor. Germ. 17. 'Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut si desit, spina consertum.' In H. v, 23. we find that the Batavians used party-colored *sagula* for sails. The present Helvetian dress is a good deal like the *sagulum*.

[q] *Braccas*] These covered the thighs. From the use of them a part of Gaul was called 'aliquando Braccata, nunc Narbonensis,' Mela, ii, 5. The Gauls, who burnt the city, are called by Juven. viii, 234. 'Braccatorum pueri, Senonumque minores.'

[r] *Ostroque*] Among the Romans, purple was highly esteemed, and 'omnem vestem illuminabat.' Plin. ix, 36.

dum regerunt. Municipale vulgus, pronum ad suspiciones, fraude illata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis, invidia et æmulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret: quocumque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum: reddita securitate, tamquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, mœrebant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Cæcina: et nox parandis operibus absumta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas[t] suffodiendis muris, protegendisque oppugnatoribus; Othoniani sudes[t] et immensas lapidum ac plumbi ærisque moles, perfringendis obruendisque hostibus, expediunt. Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria, et diversæ exhortationes, hinc 'legionum et Germanici exercitus robur,' inde 'urbanæ militiæ et prætoriarum cohortium decus' attollentium: illi 'ut segnem ac desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem;' hi 'peregrinum et externum' increpabant: simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesque, uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.

22. Vixdum orto die, plena propugnatoribus mœnia: fulgentes armis virisque campi, densum legionum agmen, sparsa auxiliorum manus, altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere; neglecta, aut ævo fluxa cominus adgredi: ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila, librato magis et certo ictu, adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum, cantu truci, et more patrio nudis corporibus, super humeros scuta quatientium. Legionarius, pluteis et cratibus tectus, subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas. Contra prætoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares[u] ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt: pars subeuntium obruti; pars confixi et exsangues, aut laceri, cum augeret stragem trepidatio, eoque acrius e mœnibus vulnerarentur, rediere, infracta partium fama: et Cæcina, pudore cœptæ temere oppugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus iisdem castris adsideret, trajecto rursus Pado, Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis, et Julius Briganticus cum paucis equitum: hic præfectus alæ, in Batavis genitus; ille primipilaris et

[t] *Pluteos—vineas*] These three are different machines, woven together with beams, twigs, and hides, with which the besiegers were protected, while they undermined the walls. See Veget. iv, 15.

[t] *Sudes*] Sharp stakes, hardened with fire.

[u] *Molares*] Above, 'immensas lapidum moles.'

Cæcinæ haud alienus, quod ordines[v] in Germania duxerat.

23. Spurinna, comperto itinere hostium, defensam Placentiam, quæque acta, et quid Cæcina pararet, Annium Gallum per literas docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiæ ducebat, diffisus paucitate cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent: ubi pulsum Cæcinam pergere Cremonam accepit, ægre coercitam legionem, et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam, Bebriaci[x] sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus jam Romanis cladibus[y] notus infaustusque. Iisdem diebus a Martio Macro haud procul Cremona prospere pugnatum: namque promtus animi Martius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit. Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et, ceteris Cremonam fugientibus, cæsi qui restiterant: sed repressus vincentium impetus, ne, novis subsidiis firmati, hostes fortunam prælii mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit, omnia quæcumque facta prave æstimantibus. Certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paullinum et Marium Celsum (nam eos Otho quoque præfecerat) variis criminibus incessebant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiæ incitamenta, interfectores Galbæ: scelere et metu vecordes, miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem literis: qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens, trepidabat; rebus prosperis incertus, et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum, fratrem, accitum[z] bello præposuit. Interea Paullini et Celsi ductu res egregiæ gestæ.

24. Angebant Cæcinam, nequidquam omnia cœpta,[a] et senescens exercitus sui fama: pulsus Placentia, cæsis

[v] *Quod ordines*] It was the business of a 'primipilaris' to head the ranks in their march. For the 'primipilares,' see A. ii, 11. xv, 12.

[x] *Bebriaci*] The old Scholiast on Juvenal says, 'Bebriacum vicum esse a Cremona vicesimo lapide.' Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. i, 26. proves that this place is a village now called *Caneto*. I wonder that Campo, who published that excellent work, Historia di Cremona, should have supposed Bebriacum to be the place now called *Bina*, which agrees neither with the narrative of Tacitus, nor with the geographical table which Campo himself published.

[y] *Duabus—cladibus*] Of Otho's and Vitellius's armies. See H. iii, 20. &c. also Pliny, x, 49.

[z] *Fratrem, accitum*] Otho, as he was going to set off for his journey, had committed the care of the city and the empire to his brother Titianus: H. i, 90.

[a] *Cœpta*] Were all hitherto in vain.

nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum,[b] crebra magis quam digna memoratu prælia, inferior; propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, reciperare gloriam, avidius quam consultius, properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona, (locus Castorum[c] vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium, imminentibus viæ lucis occultos, componit: equites 'procedere longius' jussi, 'et, inritato prælio sponte refugere, festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiæ coorirentur.' Proditum id Othonianis ducibus: et curam peditum Paullinus, equitum Celsus, sumsere. Tertiædecimæ legionis vexillum, quatuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viæ[d] tres prætoriæ cohortes altis ordinibus[e] obtinuere: dextra fronte[f] prima legio incessit, cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus. Super hos e prætorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis, aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

25. Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus, doli prudens, repressit suos. Vitelliani temere exsurgentes, cedente sensim Celso, longius secuti, ultro in insidias præcipitantur; nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. Signum pugnæ non statim a Suetonio Paullino pediti datum: cunctator natura, et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione, quam prospera ex casu, placerent, 'compleri fossas,[g] aperiri campum, pandi aciem' jubebat; 'satis cito incipi victoriam, ubi provisum foret ne vincerentur.' Ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum, in vineas, nexu traducum[h] impeditas, refugiendi: et modica

[b] *Exploratorum*] The scouts of the armies of Vitellius and Otho coming into collision.

[c] *Locus Castorum*] i. e. 'ad Castoris;' supply 'ædem' or 'templum.' Suet. Oth. 9. '[Otho] tribus quidem, verum mediocribus præliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est, vicit.' From the narrative of Tacitus it seems that the engagement took place between the Po and the Adda, not far from a town now called *Pizzighitone*.

[d] *Viæ*] The Via Postumia: H. iii, 21.

[e] *Altis ordinibus*] In close column; when the front is narrow, and the ranks are numerous and deep.

[f] *Dextra fronte*] i. e. 'dextro cornu,' the right wing. So Claudian, in Rufin. ii, 174. 'Armeniis frons læva datur; per cornua Gallos Dexteriora locat.'

[g] *Compl. fossas*] These are not to be understood of the fosses of a camp, from which they were at a great distance; but of dikes and trenches made to receive water and to dry the land, as is customary in level places, and is done to this day in that part of Italy, and in others of a like nature, as Pichena has rightly explained it.

[h] *Nexu traducum*] With interwoven branches.

sylva adhærebat; unde rursus ausi promtissimos prætorianorum equitum interfecere: vulneratur rex Epiphanes,[i] impigre pro Othone pugnam ciens.

26. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit: protrita hostium acie, versi in fugam, etiam qui subveniebant; nam Cæcina non simul cohortes, sed singulas acciverat: quæ res in prælio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos, nec usquam validos, pavor fugientium abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi ducerentur. Vinctus præfectus castrorum, Julius Gratus, 'tamquam fratri, apud Othonem militanti, proditionem ageret:' cum fratrem ejus, Julium Frontonem, tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes, occursantes, in acie, pro vallo, ut, 'deleri cum universo exercitu Cæcinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paullinus receptui cecinisset,' utrisque in partibus percrebuerit. 'Timuisse se,' Paullinus ferebat, 'tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles, recens e castris, fessos adgrederetur, et perculsis nullum retro subsidium foret:' apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.

27. Haud perinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum compulit, quam ad modestiam composuit: nec solum apud Cæcinam, qui 'culpam in militem' conferebat, 'seditioni magis quam prælio paratum;' Fabii quoque Valentis copiæ, (jam enim Ticinum[k] venerat) posito hostium contemtu, et recuperandi decoris cupidine, reverentius et æqualius duci parebant. Gravis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Cæcina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu, in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adjunctas retulimus,[l] superbe agebant; ut cujusque[m] legionis tentoria accessissent, 'coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni

[i] *Rex Epiphanes*] Epiphanes son of Antiochus IV. who was king of the Commageni, and is often mentioned in the Annals: he was the brother of Callinicus. Epiphanes and Callinicus are represented in a brass coin, published by Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles de Rois, p. 124. In a laurel tree is a goat terminating in a fish; above is a star, below an anchor: ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΩΝ, 'Commagenorum.' On the other side two young princes, sitting on horses: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΥΙΟΙ, i. e. 'regis filii.' Epiphanes is called a king, as being a king's son.

[k] *Ticinum*] *Pavia.*

[l] *Retulimus*] H. i, 59. 61.

[m] *Ut cujusque*] *Ut*, i. e. when.

Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam,' jactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci: corrupta jurgiis aut rixis disciplina: ad postremum Valens e petulantia[n] etiam perfidiam suspectabat.

28. Igitur nuntio allato, 'pulsam Treverorum alam[o] Tungrosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri;' simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas, ac, si una forent, prævalidas, dispergendi, partem Batavorum 'ire in subsidium'[p] jubet. Quod ubi auditum vulgatumque, mœrere socii, fremere legiones: 'orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio: veteres illos et tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie abduci: si provincia[q] Urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriæ sanitas, sustentaculum, columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos, ut corpori, validissimos artus.'

29. Hæc ferociter jactando, postquam, immissis lictoribus, Valens coercere seditionem cœptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa jaciunt, fugientem sequuntur: spolia 'Galliarum et Viennensium aurum[r] et pretia laborum suorum occultare,' clamitantes, direptis sarcinis, tabernacula ducis, ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur: nam Valens servili veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. Tum Alphenus Varus, præfectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus,[s] omisso tubæ sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti; et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes: silentio, patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrymis veniam quærebant. Ut vero deformis et flens, et præter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor: versi in lætitiam, (ut est vulgus utroque immodicum) laudantes gratantesque, circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cujusquam poposcit: ac ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit:[t]

[n] *Petulantia*] Of the bands of the Batavians.

[o] *Treverorum alam*] H. ii, 14.

[p] *In subsidium*] Of Gallia Narbonensis.

[q] *Provincia*] Gallia Narbonensis.

[r] *Viennensium aurum*] In H. i, 66. we saw that Valens was bribed by the gold of the Viennese.

[s] *Obire—cent.*] See A. xv, 30.

[t] *Paucos incusavit*] Lipsius reads *paucis* to no purpose; as if it referred to the brevity of the address, and not to the offenders; on the ground that all were in fault, and a few could not be selected. He did not consider the pains-taking of the commander-in-chief, which was noticed in H. i, 84,

gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.[u]

30. Munientibus castra apud Ticinum, de adversa Cæcinæ pugna allatum, et prope renovata seditio, 'tamquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis prælio defuissent.' Nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos: rapido agmine Cæcinæ junguntur. Improspera Valentis fama apud exercitum Cæcinæ erat: 'expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus,' querebantur, simul in suam excusationem, et adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quamquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Cæcinam inclinabant; super benignitatem animi, qua promtior habebatur, etiam vigore ætatis,[v] proceritate corporis, et quodam inani favore.[x] Hinc æmulatio ducibus. Cæcina 'ut fœdum et maculosum,'[y] ille 'ut vanum ac tumidum,' inridebant. Sed condito odio, eamdem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistolis, sine respectu veniæ, probra Othoni objectantes: cum duces partium Othonis, quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia, abstinerent.

31. Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam, meruere, minus Vitellii ignavæ voluptates, quam Othonis flagrantissimæ libidines timebantur. Addiderat huic terrorem atque odium cædes Galbæ; contra, illi initium belli nemo imputabat.[z] Vitellius ventre et gula sibi ipsi hostis; Otho luxu, sævitia, audacia, reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur. Conjunctis Cæcinæ ac Valentis copiis, nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora, quin totis viribus certarent. Otho consultavit, 'trahi bellum, an fortunam experiri placeret.' Tum Suetonius Paullinus, dignum fama sua ratus, qua nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli

85. As many had offended, he animadverts on a few, which is the best mode of showing severity.

[u] *Licere*] The cause of this licentious conduct is expressed in a lively manner by Lucan, v, 290. 'Facinus, quos inquinat, æquat.'

[v] *Vigore ætatis*] H. i, 53.

[x] *Inani favore*] 'Etiam specie inanium validus,' as was said of Corbulo in A. xiii, 8.

[y] *Fœdum et maculosum*] With avarice and lust: H. i, 66.

[z] *Nemo imputabat*] As Vitellius was naturally sluggish, no one accused him with being the author of the war. Hence, though he was foremost in the field, he seemed to act under the impulse of his partisans.

censere, 'festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem' disseruit.

32. 'Exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse: nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliæ tumeant,[a] et deserere Rheni ripam, inrupturis tam infestis[b] nationibus, non conducat: Britannicum militem hoste et mari distineri: Hispanias armis non ita redundare: provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso prælio contremuisse: clausam Alpibus, et nullo maris subsidio, Transpadanam Italiam, atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam:[c] non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis[d] retineri posse. Jam Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostes atrocissimum sit, tracto in æstatem bello, fluxis corporibus, mutationem soli cœlique haud toleraturos. Multa bella, impetu valida, per tædia et moras evanuisse. Contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida: Pannoniam, Mœsiam, Dalmatiam, Orientem, cum integris exercitibus; Italiam et caput rerum Urbem; senatumque et populum, numquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur; publicas privatasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiæ sueta, aut æstibus: objacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque urbes; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram, Placentiæ defensione exploratum. Proinde duceret bellum: paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem,[e] magna ipsam fama, cum Mœsiacis copiis adfore: tum rursus deliberaturum, et, si prælium placuisset, auctis viribus certaturos.'

33. Accedebat sententiæ Paullini Marius Celsus: 'idem placere Annio Gallo,' paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto, missi, qui consilium ejus sciscitarentur, retulerant. Otho pronus ad decertandum: frater ejus Titianus, et præfectus prætorii Proculus, imperitia properantes, 'Fortunam et Deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus,' testabantur: neu quis obviam ire sententiæ auderet, in adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari placitum,

[a] *Galliæ tumeant*] Admirably expressed. 'Galliæ tumeant,' as on the eve of rebellion against Vitellius. So Cic. Epist. ad Att. xiv, 4. 'Tument negotia—horribile est quæ loquantur, quæ minitentur; ac vereor Gallica etiam bella.' So also Plin. Paneg. 28. 'Obtulisti enim congiarium gaudentibus gaudens, securusque securis: quod antea Principes ad odium sui leniendum tumentibus plebis animis objectabant.'

[b] *Infestis*] The nations of the Germans.

[c] *Vastam*] Elegantly for 'vastatam.'

[d] *Sine copiis*] Provisions.

[e] *Quartamdecimam leg.*] H. ii, 11.

'interesse pugnæ Imperatorem, an seponi melius foret,' dubitavere. Paullino et Celso jam non adversantibus, ne Principem objectare periculis viderentur, iidem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, 'ut Brixellum[f] concederet, ac, dubiis præliorum exemtus, summæ rerum et imperii seipsum reservaret.' Is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit: namque et cum ipso prætoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit, et remanentium fractus animus: quando suspecti duces; et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto[g] reliquerat.

34. Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili bello, transfugiis: et exploratores, cura diversa sciscitandi, sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Cæcina ac Valens, quando hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiæ est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus oppositam gladiatorum manum,[h] ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. Naves, pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus connexæ, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, jactis super ancoris, quæ firmitatem pontis continerent. Sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut, augescente flumine, inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat pontem imposita turris et in extremam navem educta: unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur.

35. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant, saxaque et faces jaculabantur. Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes, Germani nando prælabebantur: ac forte plures transgressos, completis liburnicis, per promtissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur: sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad prælia, quæ militibus; nec perinde nutantes e navibus, quam stabili gradu e ripa, vulnera dirigebant: et, cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus, mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros,[i] aut cominus mergere: quæ cuncta, in oculis utriusque exercitus, quanto lætiora Vitellianis,

[f] *Brixellum*] Now *Bresello*, in *Reggio*.

[g] *In incerto*] As the officers were suspected by the soldiers, and Otho was absent, in whom alone they had confidence, and who in return had confidence in them and in them only, there was no general to whom they would submit.

[h] *Glad. manum*] We saw in H. ii, 11. the disgraceful expedient in Otho's army, the employment of 2000 gladiators.

[i] *Foros*] Boarded Otho's fleet.

tanto acrius Othoniani causam auctoremque cladis [k] detestabantur.

36. Et prælium quidem, abruptis [l] quæ supererant navibus, fuga diremtum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur; jamque vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. Nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna, jussu Othonis, relicto Placentiæ modico præsidio, cum cohortibus subvenit. Dein Flavium Sabinum, consulem designatum, Otho rectorem copiis misit, quibus Macer præfuerat; læto milite ad mutationem ducum, et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

37. Invenio apud quosdam auctores, 'pavore belli, seu fastidio utriusque Principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num, posito certamine, vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permitterent legere Imperatorem: atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, præcipue Paullinum; quod vetustissimus consularium, et militia clarus, gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus [m] meruisset.' Ego, ut concesserim, apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem Principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitum; ita neque Paullinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse, corruptissimo seculo tantam vulgi moderationem, reor, ut, qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent; neque aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere; aut legatos ac duces, magna ex parte luxus, egestatis, scelerum sibi conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis Principem passuros.

38. Vetus ac jampridem insita mortalibus potentiæ cupido [n] cum imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque: nam rebus modicis, æqualitas facile habebatur: sed ubi, subacto orbe, et æmulis urbibus [o] regibusve excisis, securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, [p] prima inter patres

[k] *Auct. cladis*] Macer.

[l] *Abruptis*] Better *abreptis*; since the battle was put an end to by flight. The ships, which still remained, were seized by them to secure their retreat.

[m] *Expeditionibus*] Of which mention is often made in A. xiv.

[n] *Potentiæ cupido*] Sallust, Jug. 6. 'Natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem.'

[o] *Urbibus*] Especially Carthage and Numantia.

[p] *Concup. vacuum fuit*] So Sal-

plebemque certamina exarsere: modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules prævalidi, et in Urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum. Mox e plebe infima[q] C. Marius, et nobilium sævissimus L. Sulla, victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt: post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior; et numquam postea, nisi de principatu quæsitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis[r] civium legiones: nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem illos Deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eædem scelerum causæ in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia Principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

39. Profecto Brixellum Othone, honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum præfectum.[s] Celsus et Paullinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum, alienæ culpæ prætendebantur: tribuni centurionesque ambigui,[t] quod, spretis melioribus, deterrimi valebant: miles alacer; qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bebriaco[u] castra placuit; adeo imperite, ut quamquam verno tempore anni, et tot circum amnibus,[v] penuria aquæ fatigarentur. Ibi de prælio dubitatum: Othone per literas flagitante, ut maturarent; militibus, ut Imperator pugnæ adesset, poscentibus; plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant.

lust, Fragm. Hist. i, 3. 'Postquam, remoto metu Punico, simultates exercere vacuum fuit, plurimæ turbæ, seditiones, et ad postremum, bella civilia orta sunt.' Tacitus loses none of his merit by such imitation: he rises even superior to his model, when he endeavors to check by his nervous language and vigorous sentiments the immense wealth and ungoverned desires of his countrymen. Huet explains well, 'securas opes concup. vacuum fuit; non amplius necesse fuit securitati partarum opum prospicere.'

[q] *E plebe inf.*] Because the family of the Marii was plebeian. Velleius writes with truth of Marius, ii, 11. 'Caius Marius, natus equestri loco, hirtus atque horridus, vitaque sanctus, quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus, immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus.'

[r] *Phars. ac Philippis*] H. i, 50.

[s] *Præfectum*] sc. prætorii.

[t] *Ambigui*] Uncertain what to do, as Huet explains it.

[u] *A Bebr.*] And near the place which is now called *Tor Anzolini*, between the rivers Ollio and Dermona. Plutarch, Oth. p. 1071. says that Proculus encamped ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, six miles off.

[v] *Tot circum amnibus*] For there are scarcely any where more rivers than here.

Nec perinde dijudicari potest quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.

40. Non ut ad pugnam, sed ad bellandum,[x] profecti, confluentes[y] Padi et Adduæ fluminum, sedecim inde millium spatio distantes, petebant; Celso et Paullino abnuentibus, 'militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem, objicere hosti, non admissuro, quominus expeditus, et vix quatuor millia passuum[z] progressus, aut incompositos in agmine, aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur.' Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida[a] cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho, increpita 'ducum segnitia, rem in discrimen mitti' jubebat; æger mora et spei impatiens.

41. Eadem die, ad Cæcinam, operi pontis intentum, duo prætoriarum cohortium tribuni, colloquium ejus postulantes, venerunt. Audire conditiones ac reddere parabat, cum præcipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. Interruptus tribunorum sermo: eoque incertum fuit, insidias an proditionem, vel aliquod honestum consilium cœptaverint. Cæcina, dimissis tribunis, revectus in castra, datum jussu Fabii Valentis pugnæ signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et, mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quominus in vallum impingerentur, Italicæ legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea, strictis mucronibus, redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit. Disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim, quamquam vicino hoste, aspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur: apud Othonianos, pavidi duces,

[x] *Ad bellandum*] To a decisive engagement which should settle the contest. Perhaps it was formerly *ad debellandum*.

[y] *Confl.*] Now *Bocca d'Adda*, near Castel Nuovo. Plutarch reckons only twelve miles; which does not mark the distance to the conflux of the Po and the Adda, but the extent of the march intended to be taken by Otho's army.

[z] *Vix* IV. *m. p.*] Vitellius's army, unencumbered, and fresh from a march of scarcely four miles from their camp, which was not far from Cremona, would most certainly attack Otho's troops, which were on their march and in disorder, or dispersed and employed at the intrenchments.

[a] *Numida*] In this time of Roman luxury there was frequent use made of couriers and Numidian horsemen. Hence Sen. Epist. cxxiii. 'Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, ut agmen cursorum antecedat; turpe est, nullos esse, qui occurrentes via dejiciant, qui honestum hominem venire magno pulvere ostendant.'

miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixæ, et præruptis utrimque fossis, via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quærere alii: incertus undique clamor adcurrentium, vocitantium: et, ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant vel revehebantur.

42. Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis, qui 'descivisse a Vitellio exercitum' ementirentur. Is rumor, ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte, seu dolo, seu forte[b] surrexerit, parum compertum. Omisso pugnæ ardore, Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris[c] quæ causa salutandi, metum proditionis fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, robore et numero præstantior. Othoniani, quamquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi, prælium tamen acriter sumsere; et, per locos, arboribus ac vineis impeditos, non una pugnæ facies: cominus eminusque catervis et cuneis concurrebant: in aggere viæ,[d] collato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti; omisso pilorum jactu, gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se,[e] ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius belli certabant.

43. Forte inter Padum viamque, patenti campo, duæ legiones congressæ sunt: pro Vitellio unaetvicesima, cui cognomen Rapaci,[f] vetere gloria insignis; e parte Othonis, prima Adjutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani, stratis unaetvicesimanorum principiis,[g] aquilam abstulere: quo dolore accensa legio, et impulit rursus[h] primanos, interfecto Orphidio

[b] *Dolo, s. forte*] Suetonius intimates that it was by stratagem. Oth. 9. 'Novissimo maximoque [prælio] apud Bebriacum fraude superatus est; cum spe colloquii facta, quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improviso, atque in ipsa consalutatione dimicandum fuisset.'

[c] *Pl.—ignaris*] Most of Vitellius's troops being ignorant, &c.

[d] *In agg. viæ*] So A. ii, 20. &c.

[e] *Nosc. inter se*] Knowing one another. This is to be understood of those who fought in close combat 'in aggere viæ.' *Certabant*, fought as if the result of the whole war depended on themselves. In ch. 45. we find brothers and relatives in opposing armies.

[f] *Rapaci*] See the names of the legions in H. ii, 6.

[g] *Principiis*] The picked men who occupied the foremost ranks of the twenty-first legion.

[h] *Rursus*] i. e. 'vice versa.' The 'primani' are the first additional legion, as Pichena rightly explains it.

Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia, propulsa quintanorum impetu tertiadecima legio:[k] circumventi plurium accursu quartadecimani: et, ducibus Othonis jampridem profugis, Cæcina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alphenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu,[l] quam, navibus transvectam, oppositæ cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

44. Et, media acie perrupta, fugere passim Othoniani, Bebriacum petentes. Immensum id spatium: obstructæ strage corporum viæ; quo plus cædis fuit: neque enim,[m] civilibus bellis, capti in prædam vertuntur. Suetonius Paullinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitavere.[n] Vedium Aquilam, tertiædecimæ legionis legatum, iræ militum inconsultus pavor obtulit: multo adhuc die vallum ingressus, clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur: non probris, non manibus abstinent: 'desertorem proditoremque' increpant; nullo proprio crimine ejus, sed more vulgi, suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox juvit,[o] dispositis jam excubiis, compressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus precibus, consilio, auctoritate flexerat, 'ne super cladem adversæ pugnæ suismet ipsi cædibus sævirent: sive finis bello venisset, seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum.' Ceteris fractus animus: prætorianus miles, 'non virtute se, sed proditione victum,' fremebat. 'Ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila:[p] superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit: venire Mœsicas legiones: magnam exercitus partem Bebriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos; et, si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros.' His cogitationibus truces aut pavidi, extrema

[k] *Tertiadec. legio*] The fifth took the part of Vitellius, the thirteenth and fourteenth that of Otho. H. i, 55. ii, 11. 32.

[l] *Glad. manu*] H. ii, 35.

[m] *Neque enim*] Hence the murderous nature of civil war. Χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἁλισκομένοις, Plut. Oth. p. 1073. The greatness of the carnage in this battle may be seen in the same passage.

[n] *Castra vit.*] Ἐξέκλιναν φοβούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας, Plut. Oth. p. 1072.

[o] *Nox juvit*] Plutarch, in his Life of Otho, gives more facts, and some of them at variance with the account of Tacitus.

[p] *Legionis aquila*] Of the twenty-first legion.

desperatione ad iram sæpius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

45. At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bebriaco lapidem[q] consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die oppugnationem castrorum: simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. Sed expeditis, et tantum ad prælium egressis, munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die, haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate, et, qui ferociores fuerant, ad pœnitentiam inclinantibus, missa legatio: nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quominus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti: ea res hæsitationem attulit ignaris adhuc,[r] an impetrassent. Mox remissa legatione, patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrymas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera lætitia detestantes: iisdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant: spes et præmia in ambiguo;[s] certa, funera et luctus: nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem mœreret. Requisitum Orphidii legati corpus honore solito crematur: paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere: ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.

46. Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnæ, nequaquam trepidus, et consilii certus: mœsta primum fama, dein profugi e prælio perditas res patefaciunt. Non expectavit militum ardor vocem Imperatoris: 'bonum habere animum' jubebant: 'superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque:' neque erat adulatio. Ire in aciem, excitare partium fortunam, furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant: qui procul adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua; promtissimo Plotio Firmo. Is prætorii præfectus idemtidem orabat, 'ne fidissimum exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret: majore animo tolerari adversa[t] quam relinqui: fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei;[u] timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare.' Quas inter voces, ut

[q] *Ad—lapidem*] Therefore not far from the place which is now called *Tor Anzolini.*

[r] *Ignaris adhuc*] Otho's party being ignorant whether they had obtained peace. Shortly after the intrenchments were thrown open to the troops of Vitellius.

[s] *In ambiguo*] On account of the surviving heads of the two parties, Otho and Vitellius.

[t] *Maj.—adversa*] This is a just and admirable remark. I wonder that Lipsius should here defend the Stoics, who, to avoid the extremities of fortune, thought nothing of putting an end to their existence.

[u] *Insistere spei*] Hence Florus, iv, 8. 'Magnæ indolis signum est sperare semper.'

flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus.[v] Nec prætoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed præmissi e Mœsia, 'eamdem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas,'[x] nuntiabant: ut nemo dubitet, potuisse renovari bellum atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus.

47. Ipse aversus a consiliis belli,[y] 'Hunc,' inquit, 'animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis objicere, nimis grande vitæ meæ pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti invicem sumus, ego ac Fortuna; nec tempus computaveritis: difficilius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum. Civile bellum a Vitellio cœpit, et, ut de principatu certaremus armis, initium illic fuit: ne plusquam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit: hinc Othonem posteritas æstimet. Fruetur Vitellius fratre, conjuge, liberis: mihi non ultione[z] neque solatiis opus est. Alii diutius imperium tenuerint: nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanæ pubis, tot egregios exercitus, sterni rursus, et reipublicæ eripi patiar? Eat hic mecum animus,[a] tamquam perituri pro me fueritis; sed este super-

[v] *Clamor et gemitus*] Shouts of joy, when they found Otho's countenance exhibiting a determination to live; and groans of grief, when it showed his resolution to die.

[x] *Aquileiam ingressas*] The third, seventh, and eighth legions: ch. 85. Suetonius seems to be in error, when he says in Vespas. 6. 'Mœsiaci exercitus bina [tantum] e tribus legionibus millia missa auxilio Othoni.' Aquileia keeps its name, *Aquileia*, in Friuli.

[y] *Av.—belli*] This circumstance and the last moments of Otho's life are stated by Suet. Oth. 10. 'Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiædecimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Is mox referre solebat, Othonem etiam privatum usque adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassii Brutique exitu, cohorruerit: nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi confideret sine bello rem transigi posse: tunc ad despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum; qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret, ac nunc mendacii, nunc timoris, quasi fugisset ex acie, argueretur, gladio ante pedes ejus incubuerit: hoc viso, proclamasse eum aiebat, non amplius se in periculum tales tamque bene meritos conjecturum. Fratrem igitur fratrisque filium, et singulos amicorum cohortatus, ut sibi quisque pro facultate consuleret; ab amplexu et osculo suo dimisit omnes, secretoque captato, binos codicillos exaravit, ad sororem consolatorios, sed et ad Messalinam Neronis, quam matrimonio destinaverat, commendans reliquias suas et memoriam. Quidquid deinde epistolarum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxæ apud victorem forent, concremavit. Divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia præsenti.'

[z] *Non ultione*] For Otho was unwilling to put to death the brother and wife and children of Vitellius, and to seek by this means a solace for his troubles.

[a] *Animus*] Your mind, which is already ennobled by wishing to die for me.

stites: nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui, pars ignaviæ est: præcipuum destinationis meæ documentum habete, quod de nemine queror; nam incusare Deos vel homines, ejus est, qui vivere velit.'

48. Talia locutus, ut cuique ætas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, 'irent propere, neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent,' juvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat: placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrymas coercens. 'Dari naves ac vehicula' abeuntibus jubet: libellos epistolasque, studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes, abolet: pecunias distribuit, parce, nec ut periturus. Mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium,[b] prima juventa, trepidum et mœrentem, ultro solatus est, laudando 'pietatem' ejus, castigando 'formidinem:' 'an Vitellium tam immitis animi fore, ut, pro incolumi tota domo, ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris: non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente prælium exercitu, remisisse reipublicæ novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quæsitum: post Julios, Claudios, Servios,[c] se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse: proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu, patruum sibi Othonem fuisse, aut oblivisceretur umquam, aut nimium meminisset.'

49. Post quæ, dimotis omnibus, paulum requievit; atque illum, supremas jam curas animo volutantem, repens tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur; atrocissima in Verginium[d] vi, quem, clausa domo, obsidebant. Increpitis seditionis auctoribus, regressus, vacavit abeuntium alloquiis, donec omnes inviolati digrederentur. Vesperascente die, sitim haustu gelidæ aquæ[e] sedavit: tum allatis pugionibus duobus, cum utrumque pertentasset, alterum

[b] *Fratris filium*] The son of Titianus, who was himself present, as appears from Suetonius, as quoted above. But this however appears from ch. 44. but little probable.

[c] *Servios*] Augustus, Tiberius, and Caius of the Julian family; Claudius and Nero of the Claudian; Galba of the Servian; and Otho of the Salvian family.

[d] *In Verg.*] Who was neglected by Galba. He had been a partisan of Otho, and a despiser of the imperial power; and was now perhaps judged to be the cause of Otho's despising it.

[e] *Gelidæ aquæ*] This seems to be the 'decocta' of Nero, so called, because, to make it the colder, it was first boiled.

capiti subdidit; et explorato, jam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem[f] egit. Luce prima, in ferrum pectore incubuit. Ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus, prætorii præfectus, unum vulnus invenere. Funus maturatum: ambitiosis id precibus petierat, 'ne amputaretur caput,[g] ludibrio futurum.' Tulere corpus prætoriæ cohortes, cum laudibus et lacrymis, vulnus manusque ejus exosculantes. Quidam militum juxta rogum interfecere se; non noxa, neque ob metum, sed æmulatione decoris et caritate Principis. Ac postea promiscue Bebriaci, Placentiæ, aliisque in castris, celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni sepulcrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum.[h]

50. Hunc vitæ finem habuit septimo et tricesimo ætatis anno.[i] Origo illi e municipio Ferentino:[k] pater consularis;[l] avus prætorius:[m] maternum genus impar,[n] nec tamen indecorum: pueritia ac juventa, qualem monstra-

f *Non insomnem*] Suet. Oth. 11. 'Foribus adopertis, arctissimo somno quievit, et circa lucem demum expergefactus, uno se trajecit ictu infra lævam papillam; irrumpentibusque ad primum gemitum, modo celans, modo detegens plagam, exanimatus est.'

g *Ne amputaretur caput*] The same request had been made by Nero. Otho and Nero were alike in their passions and in their death; but the former showed more firmness.

h *Et mansurum*] For there was no cause for the excitement of the feeling of envy. This ordinary structure, raised to the memory Μάρκου Ὄθωνος, was visited by Plutarch at Brixellum, as he tells us in his Life of Otho, p. 1075.

i *Sept.—æt. anno*] This is true; for Otho was born, as we learn from Suet. Oth. 2. 'quarto Kalendas Maii, Camillo Arruntio, Domitio Ahenobarbo consulibus.' Now they were consuls A.U.C. 785. J.C. 32. Suetonius therefore is in error, when he writes in ch. 11. 'Celeriter (ita præceperat) funeratus [est Otho,] trigesimo octavo ætatis anno, et nonagesimo quinto imperii die:' for this year is, it is clear, the 37th year of Otho's age, and the 92nd day of his reign; since Galba was put to death the 15th of January, Otho on the 16th of April. See Noris, de Epoch. Syro-Maced. i, 3. p. 56. Suetonius seems to have confounded the day of Otho's death with the day on which the news of it was brought to Rome.

k *Munic. Ferent.*] The 'municipium Ferentinum' was in Etruria, now *Frenti*. See A. xv, 53. Suet. Oth. 1. 'Majores Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentino, familia vetere et honorata, atque ex principibus Etruriæ.'

l *Pater consularis*] Suet. ibid. 'Pater Lucius Otho materno genere præclaro, multarum et magnarum propinquitatum, tam carus, tamque non absimilis facie Tiberio Principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent. Urbanos honores, proconsulatum Africæ, et extraordinaria imperia severissime administravit.'

m *Avus prætorius*] Suet. ibid. 'Avus Marcus Salvius Otho, patre equite Romano, matre humili, incertum an ingenua, per gratiam Liviæ Augustæ, in cujus domo creverat, senator est factus, nec præturæ gradum excessit.'

n *Mat.—impar*] His mother Albia Terentia is called a 'splendid woman' by Suet. l. c. but, as Lipsius rightly observes, that expression denotes only her equestrian order.

nimus;[o] duobus facinoribus,[p] altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantumdem apud posteros meruit bonæ famæ, quantum malæ. Ut conquirere fabulosa, et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gravitate cœpti operis crediderim; ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. 'Die, quo Bebriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie[q] apud Regium Lepidum[r] celebri vico consedisse,' incolæ memorant, 'nec deinde cœtu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus, initium finemque miraculi[s] cum Othonis exitu competisse.'

51. In funere ejus, novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio; nec erat, qui coerceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo, 'ut reciperet imperium,' nunc, 'ut legatione apud Cæcinam ac Valentem fungeretur,' minitantes orabant.[t] Verginius, per aversam domus partem furtim degressus, irrumpentes frustratus est. Earum, quæ Brixelli egerant, cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit;[u] et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem, per Flavium Sabinum, iis copiis, quibus præfuerat.

52. Posito ubique bello, magna pars senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab Urbe, dein Mutinæ[v] relicta. Illuc adverso de prælio allatum: sed milites, ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque trahere in deterius: conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium cædis quærebant: cum alius

[o] *Monstrav.*] H. i, 13. See also Suet. Oth. 2.

[p] *Duobus facinoribus*] The one, of the most flagitious character, when he possessed himself of the empire by the death of Galba; the other, an excellent act, when he gave it up.

[q] *Invisitata specie*] i. e. 'non visa.'

[r] *Regium Lepidum*] Now called *the states of Reggio*, in Modena; a city about 15 miles from Brixellum, where Otho died.

[s] *Finem mirac.*] Suetonius, after his custom, gives us other circumstances concerning this miracle in Vespas. 5. 'Acie Bebriacensi, priusquam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium conflixisse; victaque altera, supervenisse tertiam a Solis ortu, ac victricem abegisse.'

[t] *Minitantes orabant*] But both below the dignity of Verginius; for he had already spurned the imperial dignity, and it did not become him to take on himself an embassy to Valens and Cæcina.

[u] *Rubr.—tulit*] Rubrius Gallus carried to the camp of the Vitellians the entreaties of the cohorts which had acted with Otho at Brixellum: and a pardon was immediately obtained, when the troops, which had been commanded by Flavius Sabinus, went over with him to the conqueror. Of Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, see more in H. i, 46. ii, 55.

[v] *Mutinæ*] Now *Modena*.

insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne prævalidis jam Vitellii partibus, cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur: ita trepidi et utrimque anxii coeunt: nemo privatim[x] expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpæ tutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis,[y] arma et pecuniam' offerendo, appellabatque 'Patres Conscriptos,' intempestivo honore.

53. Notabile inde jurgium[z] fuit, quo Licinius Cæcina Marcellum Eprium,[a] 'ut ambigua disserentem,' invasit. Nec ceteri sententias aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum,[b] expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen, irritaverat Cæcinam, ut novus adhuc, et in senatum nuper adscitus, magnis inimicitiis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum diremti; et rediere omnes Bononiam,[c] rursus consiliaturi: simul, medio temporis, plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiæ, divisis per itinera, qui recentissimum quemque percunctarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus 'causam digressus,' 'habere se suprema ejus mandata' respondit: 'ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura[d] et abruptis vitæ blandimentis.' Hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor: atque omnium animi in Vitellium inclinavere.

54. Intererat consiliis frater ejus L. Vitellius, seque jam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Cœnus, libertus Neronis, atroci mendacio universos perculit, 'adfirmans, superventu quartædecimæ legionis,[e] junctis a Brixello viribus, cæsos victores, versam partium fortunam.' Causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis,[f] quæ negligebantur,

[x] *Nemo privatim*] No one felt secure in acting alone; but, as happens where there are many, preferred a companionship in guilt.

[y] *Ordo Mutinensis*] So we saw and explained the 'ordo Puteolanorum' in A. xiii, 41. So at Nola in the ancient inscriptions, ORDO POPVLVSQVE NOLANVS: at Naples, ORDO NEAPOLITANORVM ET POPVLVS. The senators found their cares increased by the tender which was made of arms and money, a rejection of which would make the vanquished Othonians furious, and if received would draw forth from the Vitellians indignation and violence. Tacitus says 'intempestivo honore,' since liberty was no longer remaining, and slavery was threatening them.

[z] *Notab. inde jurgium*] Some MSS. read, badly, *in Verginium*, instead of *inde jurgium*.

[a] *Marc. Eprium*] A. xii. xiii. xvi.

[b] *Mem. delationum*] He had accused a great many, and particularly Thrasea, as we saw in A. xvi, 22. 28.

[c] *Bononiam*] All the senators, who had come to Mutina, returned to Bononia, now *Bologna*.

[d] *Sola post. cura*] Thinking only on posterity and immortality.

[e] *Quart. leg.*] Which on the contrary was driven back at the arrival of the Vitellians, as we saw in ch. 43.

[f] *Dipl. Othonis*] Which were no longer in force after the death of Otho

lætiore nuntio revalescerent. Et Coenus quidem rapide in Urbem vectus, paucos post dies, jussu Vitellii pœnas luit. Senatorum periculum auctum, credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse, quæ adferebantur: intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii facie[g] discessum Mutina, desertæque partes forent. Nec ultra in commune congressi, sibi quisque consuluere, donec missæ a Fabio Valente epistolæ demerent metum; et mors Othonis, quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

55. At Romæ nihil trepidationis: Cereales ludi[h] ex more spectabantur. Ut 'cessisse vita Othonem, et a Flavio Sabino, præfecto Urbis, quod erat in Urbe militum sacramento Vitellii adactum,' certi auctores in theatrum attulerunt, Vitellio plausere: populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbæ imagines circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis, juxta lacum Curtii, quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat.[i] In senatu cuncta, longis aliorum principatibus composita, statim decernuntur.[k] Additæ 'erga Germanicos exercitus laudes gratesque:' et missa legatio, quæ gaudio fungeretur. Recitatæ Fabii Valentis epistolæ, ad consules scriptæ haud immoderate: gratior Cæcinæ modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.

56. Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello adflictabatur: dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani, spoliare, rapere, vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales, non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere, qui inimicos suos, specie militum, interficerent: ipsique milites, regionum gnari, refertos agros, dites dominos, in prædam, aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinabant, obnoxiis ducibus[l] et prohibere non ausis: minus avaritiæ in Cæcina, plus ambitionis: Valens, ob lucra et quæstus infamis, eoque alienæ etiam culpæ dissimulator. Jampridem attritis Italiæ rebus, tantum pedi-

and the transfer of the empire. These 'diplomata' were passports to secure expeditious travelling. See Plin. Ep. x, 14. 54. The 'diplomata beneficiorum,' conferred by the Emperor, were different from these: Suet. Aug. 50. Cal. 38. Ner. 12.

[g] *Publ.—facie*] For they seemed by public compact to have left Mutina, and deserted Otho's side.

[h] *Cer. ludi*] They were exhibited in the circus on the 19th of April. See A. xv, 53.

[i] *Sanguine infecerat*] H. i, 41.

[k] *Statim decernuntur*] So of Otho in H. i, 47. 'Accurrunt patres, decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas, et nomen Augusti, et omnes Principum honores.'

[l] *Obnox. ducibus*] Huet rightly explains it: 'Militum libidini obtemperantibus ducibus, quorum fortuna opesque omnes sitæ erant in exercitus favore.'

tum[m] equitumque, vis damnaque et injuriæ, ægre tolerabantur.

57. Interim Vitellius, victoriæ suæ nescius, ut ad integrum bellum, reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci veterum militum in hybernis[n] relicti, festinatis per Gallias delectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. Cura ripæ[o] Hordeonio Flacco permissa: ipse e Britannico delectu octo millia sibi adjunxit: et, paucorum dierum iter progressus, 'prosperas apud Bedriacum res, ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum,' accepit. Vocata concione, virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. Postulante exercitu, 'ut libertum suum, Asiaticum, equestri dignitate donaret,' inhonestam adulationem compescit. Dein, mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur; honoravitque Asiaticum annulis,[p] fœdum mancipium, et malis artibus ambitiosum.

58. Iisdem diebus, 'accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam,[q] interfecto procuratore Albino,' nuntii venere. Luceius Albinus, a Nerone Mauretaniæ Cæsariensi præpositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanæ provinciæ[r] administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. Novemdecim cohortes, quinque alæ, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Cæso Galba, in Othonem pronus, nec Africa contentus, Hispaniæ, angusto freto[s] diremtæ, imminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo[t] metus: 'et decimam legionem propinquare littori,' ut transmissurus, jussit: præmissi centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent: neque arduum fuit, magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama. Spargebatur insuper, 'spreto procuratoris vocabulo, Albinum insigne regis, et Jubæ nomen[u] usurpare.'

[m] *Tant. peditum*] So great a number, &c.

[n] *In hybernis*] Of Upper and Lower Germany.

[o] *Cura ripæ*] The care of the bank of the Rhine was committed to Hordeonius, for fear the Germans should make any attack in the course of these commotions.

[p] *Annulis*] 'Annulus' was an ensign of the equestrian dignity: H. i, 13. Suetonius, in Vitell. 12. has briefly described the various fortunes of Asiaticus, and the incontinence and wavering disposition of Vitellius.

[q] *Utr. Maur.*] Mauretania was divided into two parts by C. Caligula.

[r] *Ting. prov.*] i. e. 'Mauretaniæ Tingitanæ,' now *Fez* and *Morocco*. 'Mauretania Cæsariensis' is now *Algiers*.

[s] *Angusto freto*] Now *the Straits of Gibraltar*.

[t] *Cluvio Rufo*] Governor of Spain. H. i, 8. 76.

[u] *Jubæ nomen*] A famous name among the kings of Mauretania.

59. Ita mutatis animis, Asinius Pollio, alæ præfectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio, cohortium præfecti, opprimuntur. Ipse Albinus, dum e Tingitana provincia Cæsariensem Mauretaniam petit, appulsus littori, trucidatur: uxor ejus, cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est; nihil eorum, quæ fierent, Vitellio anquirente: brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, impar curis gravioribus. 'Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere' jubet: ipse Arare flumine[v] devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate[x] conspicuus: donec Junius Blæsus,[y] Lugdunensis Galliæ rector, genere inlustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret Principis ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter; eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Præsto fuere Lugduni victricium victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Cæcinam, pro concione laudatos, curuli suæ circumposuit. Mox 'universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio'[z] jubet: perlatumque et paludamento[a] opertum sinu retinens, Germanicum appellavit, cinxitque cunctis fortunæ principalis insignibus: nimius honos inter secunda, rebus adversis in solatium cessit.

60. Tum interfecti centuriones promtissimi Othonianorum; unde præcipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus: simul ceteræ legiones contactu,[b] et adversus Germanicos milites invidia, bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paullinum ac Licinium Proculum,[c] tristi mora squalidos, tenuit, donec auditi, necessariis magis defensio-

[v] *Arare fl.*] Now *the Saone*. See A. xiii, 53.

[x] *Vet. egestate*] The poverty and infamy of Vitellius are stated also by Suet. Vitell. 7. 'Satis constat [Vitellio in inferiorem Germaniam] exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romæ relinquebat, meritorio cœnaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocarit; utque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit ad itineris impensas. Creditorum quidem præstolantium, ac detinentium turbam, et in iis Sinuessanos Formianosque, quorum publica vectigalia interverterat, non nisi terrore calumniæ amovit; cum libertino cuidam acerbius debitum reposcenti injuriarum formulam, quasi calce ab eo percussus, intendisset; nec aliter quam extortis quinquaginta sestertiis remisisset.' *Quinquaginta sestertia* are 416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

[y] *J. Blæsus*] See H. iii, 38.

[z] *Infanti filio*] Suetonius, Vitell. 6. describes him as 'titubantia oris prope mutum et elinguem.'

[a] *Paludamento*] A. xii, 56.

[b] *Contactu*] Vicinity and companionship. So A. i, 43. 'Discedite a contactu, ac dividite turbidos.'

[c] *Licin. Proculum*] Paullinus and Proculus were generals in Otho's army, of whom mention is made frequently before, and particularly in H. ii, 31. 33.

nibus quam honestis uterentur: proditionem ultro imputabant;[d] 'spatium longi ante prælium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen, ac pleraque fortuita, fraudi suæ' adsignantes, et Vitellius credidit de perfidia,[e] et fidem absolvit. Salvius Titianus, Othonis frater, nullum discrimen adiit, pietate[f] et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso[g] consulatus servatur: sed creditum fama, objectumque mox in senatu Cæcilio Simplici, 'quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset:' restitit Vitellius, deditque postea consulatum[h] Simplici innoxium et inemtum. Trachalum[i] adversus criminantes Galeria,[k] uxor Vitellii, protexit.

61. Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum dictu) Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum,[l] inserere sese fortunæ et provocare arma Romana, simulatione numinum ausus est: jamque 'adsertor Galliarum et Deus,' (nomen id sibi indiderat) concitis octo millibus hominum, proximos Æduorum[m] pagos trahebat; cum gravissima civitas, electa juventute, adjectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disjecit. Captus in eo prælio Mariccus, ac mox feris objectus,[n] quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat,[o] donec, spectante Vitellio, interfectus est.

62. Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cujusquam sævitum: rata fuere eorum, qui acie Othoniana ceciderant, testamenta, aut lex intestatis:[p] prorsus, si luxuriæ temperaret, avaritiam non timeres. Epularum fœda et inexple-

[d] *Imputabant*] Huet rightly explains it, 'ob proditum a se Othonem gratiam sibi haberi a Vitellio postulabant.'

[e] *Cred. de perfidia*] Believed their perfidy to Otho, and pardoned their ancient attachment to him: for attachment and good faith are crimes in civil commotions, as we saw in H. i, 59.

[f] *Pietate*] Fraternal affection.

[g] *Mario Celso*] Consul elect: H. i, 14.

[h] *Consulatum*] H. iii, 68.

[i] *Trachalum*] Galerius Trachalus: H. i. 90.

[k] *Galeria*] Galeria Fundana.

[l] *Boiorum*] Boii, now *the Bourbonnois.*

[m] *Æduorum*] See A. xi, 25. They were the only people of the Gauls who fraternised with the Romans; as we learn from Tacitus above.

[n] *Feris objectus*] The punishment of rebels. Digest. xlviii, Tit. 19. de Pœnis, leg. 38. ex Paulo, n. 2. 'Actores seditionis et tumultus, populo concitato, pro qualitate dignitatis, aut in furcam tolluntur, aut bestiis objiciuntur, aut in insulam deportantur.'

[o] *Inviol. credebat*] So many have been thought inviolable by the credulous multitude, from the greatness of their daring, and from their rash and successful exposure to dangers.

[p] *Lex intestatis*] The law, by which the goods of intestate persons were left to their heirs.

bilis libido:[q] ex Urbe atque Italia inritamenta gulæ gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus: exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes civitatum: vastabantur[r] ipsæ civitates: degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles, adsuetudine voluptatum, et contemtu ducis. Præmisit in Urbem edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Cæsaris non reciperet,[s] cum de potestate nihil detraheret. Pulsi Italia mathematici.[t] Cautum severe, 'ne equites Romani ludo et arena polluerentur.' Priores id Principes pecunia et sæpius vi perpulerant: ac pleraque municipia et coloniæ æmulabantur, corruptissimum quemque adolescentium pretio inlicere.[u]

63. Sed Vitellius, adventu fratris,[v] et inrepentibus dominationis magistris, superbior et atrocior, occidi Dolabellam jussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone retulimus.[x] Dolabella, audita morte Othonis, Urbem introierat. Id ei Plancius Varus, prætura functus, ex intimis Dolabellæ amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum, præfectum Urbis, objecit, 'tamquam rupta custodia, ducem se victis partibus ostentasset:' addidit, 'tentatam cohortem, quæ Ostiæ[y] ageret:' nec ullis tantorum criminum proba-

[q] *Inexpleb. libido*] Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius, are all witnesses of the excessive gluttony of Vitellius.

[r] *Vastab.*] So Suet. Vitell. 10. 'Itinere inchoato per medias civitates ritu triumphantium vectus est: perque flumina delicatissimis navigiis et variarum coronarum genere redimitis, inter profusissimos opsoniorum apparatus, nulla familiæ aut militis disciplina, rapinas ac petulantiam omnium in jocum vertens; qui non contenti epulo ubique publice præbito, quoscumque libuisset, in libertatem asserebant, verbera et plagas, sæpe vulnera, nonnumquam necem repræsentantes adversantibus.'

[s] *Non recip.*] Nor is it found in his Latin coins, which are commonly inscribed, A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. POT. i. e. 'Aulus Vitellius, Imperator, Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate.' But we find in the coins struck in Egypt, ΩΛΟΥ. ΟΥΙΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΑΥΤ. The head of Vitellius is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse stands Victory holding a laurel crown, and a palm in her left hand; in the centre are the letters E. A. i. e. 'anno primo.' This coin is found in Pellerin's Mélange de Médailles, vol. i, p. 228, Tab. xiii.

[t] *Mathematici*] Suet. Vitell. 14. 'Nullis infensior quam vernaculis et mathematicis, ut quisque deferretur, inauditum capite puniebat; exacerbatus, quod post edictum suum, quo jubebat intra Kalendas Octobris Urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus est propositus, Et Chaldæos edicere, bonum factum: ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eumdem Kalendarum diem usquam esset.' Francis Rapheleng for *vernaculis* proposed *divinaculis*. This would be well, if the word were a Latin one: but by *vernaculis* are meant 'vernæ' and buffoons, of whom Martial, Epigr. i, 42. and x, 3.

[u] *Pretio inlicere*] To become contaminated by the arena.

[v] *Fratris*] Lucius Vitellius.

[x] *Retulimus*] H. i, 88.

[y] *Ostiæ*] The name is still the same.

tionibus, in pœnitentiam versus seram, veniam post scelus quærebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium Sabinum, Triaria, L. Vitellii uxor, ultra fœminam ferox, terruit, ne 'periculo Principis famam clementiæ adfectaret.' Sabinus, suopte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset facilis mutatu, et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, impulit ruentem.

64. Igitur Vitellius, metu et odio, quod Petroniam,[z] uxorem ejus, mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistolas, 'vitata Flaminiæ viæ[a] celebritate, devertere Interamnium[b] atque ibi interfici' jussit. Longum interfectori visum: in itinere ac taberna projectum humi jugulavit; magna cum invidia novi principatus, cujus hoc primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariæ licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria Imperatoris uxor, non immixta tristibus; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum, Sextilia,[c] antiqui moris. Dixisse quinetiam, ad primas filii sui epistolas, ferebatur, 'non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum.'[d] Nec ullis postea fortunæ inlecebris, aut ambitu civitatis, in gaudium evicta, domus suæ tantum adversa sensit.

65. Digressum a Lugduno Vitellium M. Cluvius Rufus[e] adsequitur, omissa Hispania; lætitiam et gratulationem vultu ferens, animo anxius et petitum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius, Cæsaris libertus, detulerat, 'tamquam, audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu, propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum tentasset; eoque diplomatibus nullum Principem præscripsisset.' Interpretabatur quædam ex orationibus ejus, contumeliosa in Vitellium, et pro seipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii prævaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius juberet. Cluvius comitatui Principis adjectus, non ademta Hispania, quam rexit absens, exemplo L. Arruntii:[f] eum Ti-

[z] *Petroniam*] The former wife of the emperor Vitellius. See Suet. Vitell. 6.

[a] *Flaminiæ viæ*] A. iii, 9. xiii, 47.

[b] *Interamn.*] Now *Terni* in Umbria.

[c] *Sextilia*] Mother of the two Vitellii, Aulus and Lucius. Sextilia is called by Suetonius also in Vitell. 3. 'probatissima nec ignobilis fœmina.'

[d] *Vitell. genitum*] Sextilia, as we learn from Suet. l. c. 'missum [Vitellium] ad legiones, et appellatum Imperatorem, pro afflicto statim lamentata est.' We have seen the name of Germanicus used by Vitellius on the coins above mentioned.

[e] *Cl. Rufus*] Governor of Spain: ch. 58.

[f] *L. Arruntii*] Who bore an admirable character; but was detained at Rome for ten years, and prevented from going to Spain. A. vi, 7. 27.

berius Cæsar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo[g] honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum: missus est in locum ejus Vettius Bolanus[h] e præsentibus.[i]

66. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus: sparsæ per Italiam et victoribus permixtæ, hostilia loquebantur: præcipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui 'se victos' abnuebant: 'quippe Bebriacensi acie, vexillariis[k] tantum pulsis, vires legionis non adfuisse.' Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant,[l] placuit; atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere, ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. Nec diu, in tantis armatorum odiis, quies fuit. Augustæ Taurinorum,[m] dum opificem quemdam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur; sui cuique commilitones aggregati, a conviciis ad cædem transiere: et prælium atrox arsisset, ni duæ prætoriæ cohortes, causam quartadecimanorum secutæ, his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent: 'quos' Vitellius 'agmini suo jungi,' ut fidos; 'legionem, Graiis Alpibus[n] traductam, eo flexu itineris ire' jubet, 'quo Viennam[o] vitarent:' namque et Viennenses timebantur. Nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus, pars Taurinæ coloniæ[p] ambusta: quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, majoribus aliarum urbium cladibus obliteratum. Quartadecimani, postquam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum compressi, et legio in Britanniam transvecta.

67. Proximus Vitellio e prætoriis cohortibus metus erat: separati primum, deinde, addito honestæ missionis[q] leni-

[g] *Treb. Max.*] See H. i, 60.

[h] *Vett. Bolanus*] See Agr. 8. 16.

[i] *E præsentibus*] A follower of the court.

[k] *Vexillariis*] A. i, 38.

[l] *Exciti erant*] Ch. 11.

[m] *Aug. Taur.*] Now *Turin.*

[n] *Graiis Alp.*] Now called *Little St. Bernard.*

[o] *Viennam*] Now *Vienne, in Dauphiné:* A. xi, 1.

[p] *Taurinæ coloniæ*] The same as that just called Augusta Taurinorum, *Turin.*

[q] *Hon. missionis*] A copy of discharge is given by Gori, Inscr. Antiq. vol. iii, p. 144.

SER. GALBA. IMPERATOR. CAESAR AVGVSTVS. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. COS. DES. II.
VETERANIS. QVI. MILITAVERVNT. IN LEGIONE I. ADIVTRICE. HONESTAM MISSIONEM. ET. CIVITATEM. DEDIT QVORVM. NOMINA. SVBSCRIPTA. SVNT IPSIS. LIBERIS. POSTERISQVE. EORVM. ET. CONVBIVM. CVM. VXORIBVS. QVAS. TVNC. HABVISSENT. CVM EST. CIVITAS. IIS. DATA. AVT. SI QVI. CAELIBES. ESSENT. CVM. IIS QVAS. POSTEA. DVXISSENT. DVMTAXAT. SINGVLI. SINGVLAS. &c.

mento, arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum, resumta militia,[r] robur Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret: undecima ac septima suis hybernis[s] redditæ: tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra jussi; nam Cæcina Cremonæ, Valens Bononiæ, spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant: numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

68. Et quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud victores orta seditio, ludicro initio, nisi numerus cæsorum invidiam bello auxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini,[t] adhibito ad epulas Verginio. Legati tribunique, ex moribus imperatorum, severitatem æmulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent: perinde miles intentus, aut licenter agit. Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac Bacchanalibus, quam disciplinæ et castris, propiora. Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintæ, altero e Gallis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam ad certamen luctandi accensis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo, et iis, qui ad spectandum convenerant, in studia diductis, erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum, ac duæ cohortes interfectæ. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus: pulvis procul et arma aspiciebantur: conclamatum repente, 'quartamdecimam legionem, verso itinere,[u] ad prælium venire:' sed erant agminis coactores:[v] agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. Interim Verginii servus forte obvius, ut 'percussor Vitellii'[x] insimulatur: et ruebat ad convivium miles, 'mortem Verginii'[y] exposcens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quamquam ad omnes suspiciones pavidus, de innocentia ejus dubitavit: ægre tamen cohibiti, qui exitium viri consularis, et quondam ducis sui, flagitabant. Nec quemquam sæpius, quam Verginium, omnis seditio infestavit: manebat admiratio viri et fama; sed oderant, ut fastiditi.[z]

[r] *Resumta militia*] The prætorian troops, having been discharged, and being hostile to the cause of Vitellius, resumed the service in defence of Vespasian, as Pichena properly explains it.

[s] *Suis hybernis*] Which were in Dalmatia and Pannonia. See H. ii, 11. iii, 50.

[t] *Ticini*] Now *Pavia*.

[u] *Verso itin.*] Ch. 66.

[v] *Agminis coactores*] The men whose business it was to bring up the rear of the army, called by the Greeks οὐραγοί.

[x] *Percussor Vitellii*] Having planned the death of Vitellius. In ch. 75. Volaginius is called the 'percussor' of Scribonianus.

[y] *Verginii*] Mentioned in ch. 49. and often elsewhere.

[z] *Fastiditi*] When they offered the imperial dignity to Verginius.

69. Postero die, Vitellius, senatus legatione, quam ibi opperiri jusserat, audita, transgressus in castra, ultro 'pietatem militum' collaudavit; frementibus auxiliis, 'tantum impunitatis atque arrogantiæ legionariis accessisse.' Cohortes Batavorum, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissæ; principium interno simul externoque bello[a] parantibus fatis. Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus, et prima statim defectione inter inania belli[b] adsumtus. Ceterum, ut largitionibus adfectæ jam imperii opes sufficerent, 'amputari legionum[c] auxiliorumque numeros' jubet, vetitis supplementis; et promiscuæ missiones offerebantur: exitiabile id reipublicæ, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos, periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant: et vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem disciplinam et instituta majorum; apud quos virtute, quam pecunia, res Romana melius stetit.

70. Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit, et, spectato munere Cæcinæ, insistere Bebriacensibus campis, ac vestigia recentis victoriæ lustrare oculis concupivit. Fœdum atque atrox spectaculum: intra quadragesimum pugnæ diem[d] lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formæ, infecta tabo humus, protritis arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas: nec minus inhumana[e] pars viæ, quam Cremonenses lauru rosisque constraverant, exstructis altaribus cæsisque victimis, regium in morem; quæ, læta in præsens, mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Cæcina, monstrabantque pugnæ locos: 'hinc erupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos: inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus.' Jam tribuni præfectique, sua quisque facta extollentes, falsa, vera, aut majora vero miscebant. Vulgus quoque militum, clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues cor-

[a] *Ext. bello*] *Interno*, of the Flavian party; *externo*, of Civilis, or the Batavians.

[b] *Inania belli*] At the commencement of the revolt Vitellius drew to his assistance some Gaulish auxiliaries; a large number, but a mere vain show; as the Gauls were at that time sluggish and unwarlike. See A. xi, 18. and Agr. 11.

[c] *Amp. leg.*] 'Amputare numeros' is, to disband the companies; 'vetare supplementa,' to prohibit recruiting; 'offerre missiones,' to offer discharges.

[d] *Quadrag. pugnæ diem*] The 24th of May.

[e] *Nec minus inhumana*] By reason of the altars which were raised, and the victims which were slain, in the manner of foreign and barbarous kings. In former times, when that valor flourished which subdued the world, the greatest honor was to preserve a citizen; but in these civil broils, to make a vast slaughter among the people was esteemed a sacred and divine work

porum intueri, mirari. Et erant, quos varia sors rerum, lacrymæque et misericordia subiret: at non Vitellius flexit oculos, nec tot millia insepultorum civium exhorruit:[f] lætus ultro, et tam propinquæ sortis ignarus, instaurabat sacrum Diis loci.[g]

71. Exin Bononiæ a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex Urbe cultu: quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter, immixtis histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianæ aulæ ingenio; namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat,[h] sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu[i] et saginæ mancipatus emtusque. Ut Valenti et Cæcinæ vacuos honoris menses[k] aperiret, coarctati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Martii Macri,[l] tamquam Othonianarum partium ducis: et Valerium Marinum, destinatum a Galba consulem, distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et injuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius Costa omittitur, ingratus Principi, ut adversus Neronem ausus, et Verginii exstimulator;[m] sed alias protulit causas: actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.

72. Non ultra paucos dies, quamquam acribus initiis cœptum, mendacium valuit. Extiterat quidam, 'Scribonianum se Camerinum'[n] ferens, 'Neronianorum temporum

[f] *Exhorruit*] Nay, he broke out into language of a wild and horrible nature. Suet. Vitell. 10. 'Ut campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem detestabili voce confirmare ausus est: Optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem. Nec eo secius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit, passimque divisit. Pari vanitate atque insolentia, lapidem memoriæ Othonis inscriptum intuens, dignum eo mausoleo ait.'

[g] *Diis loci*] See A. xii, 13. Other infamous features in Vitellius's superstition are mentioned by Suet. Vitell. 10. 'Pugionem, quo se Otho occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam [now *Cologne*] misit. In Apennini quidem jugis etiam pervigilium egit.'

[h] *Admir. celebrabat*] Hence, on his coming to Rome, as we learn from Suet. Vitell. 11. 'Ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendæ reipublicæ eligeret, medio Martio campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit; ac solemni convivio citharœdum placentem palam admonuit, ut et aliquid de Domitio diceret; inchoantique Neroniana cantica, primus exsultans etiam plausit.' His adulation was formerly very grateful to Nero, as appears from Suet. Vitell. 4.

[i] *Luxu*] For 'luxui,' as is common with the ancient authors.

[k] *Vacuos — menses*] October and the remaining months. For the consuls made to supply vacancies in this year, see on H. i, 77.

[l] *M. Macri*] Ch. 23 and 36.

[m] *Verg. exstim.*] To accept the offer of the empire.

[n] *Camerinum*] Sulpicius Camerinus and his son were put to death under the emperor Nero.

metu in Istria[o] occultatum, quod illic clientelæ et agri veterum Crassorum[p] ac nominis favor manebat.' Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulæ adsumto, vulgus credulum et quidam militum, errore veri, seu turbarum studio, certatim aggregabantur: cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, 'quisnam mortalium esset,' postquam nulla dictis fides, et a domino noscebatur, conditione fugitivus, nomine Geta,[q] sumtum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.[r]

73. Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiæ socordiæque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores[s] e Syria Judæaque, 'adactum in verba ejus Orientem,' nuntiavere: nam, etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus, ac plerumque ad nomen ejus Vitellius excitabatur. Tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo æmulo, sævitia, libidine, raptu, in externos mores proruperunt.

74. At Vespasianus bellum armaque, procul vel juxta sitas vires, circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut præeuntem sacramentum, et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem, per silentium[t] audierint. Muciani animus[u] nec Vespasiano alienus, et in Titum pronior. Præfectus Ægypti, Alexander,[v] consilia sociaverat. Tertiam legionem,[x] quod e Syria in Mœsiam transisset, suam numerabat: ceteræ Illyrici legiones secuturæ sperabantur: namque omnes exercitus flammaverat arrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum;[y] quod truces corpore, horridi sermone, ceteros, ut impares, inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespasianus, modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: 'Quis ille dies

[o] *In Istria*] The name is still *Istria*, on the Adriatic.

[p] *Vet. Crassorum*] He pretended therefore to belong to the house of the Crassi. Certainly in H. iv, 39. mention is made of Scribonianus Crassus, brother of Piso, who was the son of M. Crassus. H. i, 14, 15.

[q] *Nom. Geta*] Geta, Davus, &c. are servants' names.

[r] *In servilem modum*] By crucifixion, which was the most condign punishment. Of the punishments of slaves, mention has been made A. iii, 50. xv, 60.

[s] *Speculatores*] H. i, 24.

[t] *Per silentium*] Not repeating, as was customary, the words of the oath, and the prayers for the prosperity of the throne.

[u] *Muc. animus*] Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria. H. i, 10.

[v] *Alexander*] Tiberius Alexander. H. i, 11.

[x] *Tertiam legionem*] H. i, 79.

[y] *Ven. — militum*] The greatest part of whom consisted of the German, Gallic, and British levies.

foret, quo sexaginta ætatis annos[z] et duos filios[a] juvenes bello permitteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus regressum; et, prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa et præcipitia.

75. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: 'Suas legiones civili bello inexpertas; Vitellii, victrices; et apud victos[b] plus querimoniarum quam virium: fluxam per discordias militum fidem, et periculum ex singulis. Quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterque præsenti facinore[c] paratum ex diverso præmium petat? Sic Scribonianum[d] sub Claudio interfectum: sic percussorem ejus, Volaginium, e gregario ad summa militiæ provectum. Facilius universos impelli,[e] quam singulos vitari.'

76. His pavoribus nutantem, et alii legati amicique firmabant; et Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones, jam et coram[f] ita locutus: 'Omnes qui[g] magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an, quod inchoatur, reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promtum effectu, aut certe non arduum sit: simul ipse, qui suadet, considerandus est, adjiciatne consilio periculum suum; et, si Fortuna cœptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco, tam salutare reipublicæ, quam tibi magnificum. Juxta Deos,[h] in tua manu positum est: nec speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia, quam a laude propius fuerit, post Vitellium[i] eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec

[z] *Sexaginta—annos*] Suet. Vesp. 2. 'Vespasianus natus est—decimo quinto Kalendas Decembris vesperi, Quinto Sulpicio Camerino, Caio Poppæo Sabino consulibus, A.U.C. 762. quinquennio ante quam Augustus excederet.'

[a] *Duos filios*] Titus and Domitian.

[b] *Victos*] The Othonians.

[c] *Præsenti facinore*] Claim from Vitellius the reward promised on the death of Vespasian.

[d] *Sic Scrib.*] Furius Camillus Scribonianus, lieutenant of Dalmatia, was crushed within five days.

[e] *Universos impelli*] sc. to rebellion. *Singulos*, the insidious attacks of individuals.

[f] *Jam et coram*] In the presence of many hearers, and in public.

[g] *Omnes qui*] Here perhaps Tacitus imitates Sallust, Hist. iv, 2. in the Epistle of Mithridates to Arsaces: 'Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere; dein quod quæritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit.'

[h] *Juxta Deos*] Next to the gods themselves, the empire is in your hands: for the responses of oracles and the motions of the stars were mentioned, as alluding to this event: ch. 78.

[i] *Post Vitell.*] So unworthy of the imperial dignity.

adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Caii quidem, aut Claudii, vel Neronis, fundatam longo imperio domum, exsurgimus: cessisti etiam Galbæ imaginibus.[k] Torpere ultra, et polluendam perdendamque rempublicam relinquere, sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi, quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit jam et transvectum est tempus,[l] quo posses videri concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. An excidit[m] trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine, quam nos sumus, fateor: sed et Nero, nobilitate natalium, Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud timentem, quisquis timetur: et posse ab exercitu Principem fieri, sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbæ odio provectus. Ne Othonem[n] quidem, ducis arte, aut exercitus vi, sed præpropera ipsius desperatione victum, jam desiderabilem et magnum Principem fecit. Cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova quotidie bello semina ministrat; si quid ardoris ac ferociæ miles habuit, popinis et comessationibus et Principis imitatione deteritur. Tibi e Judæa et Syria et Ægypto novem legiones integræ, nulla acie exhaustæ, non discordia corruptæ: sed firmatus usu miles, et belli domitor externi;[o] classium, alarum, cohortium robora; et fidissimi reges;[p] et tua ante omnes experientia.

77. 'Nobis nihil ultra arrogabo, quam ne post Valentem ac Cæcinam numeremur: ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia æmulum non experiris: me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuæ domui triumphale nomen,[q] duo

[k] *Galbæ imag.*] For the nobility of Galba, see H. i, 15.

[l] *Transv. est temp.*] The time is now past, when you might seem to have desired a better administration and a better administrator of the kingdom: the sovereign power is now your only refuge, your only safety. An illustration of this seems to be found in Josephus, Bell. Jud. iv, 10, n. 4. Τῷ δὲ (Οὐεσπασιανῷ) φροντὶς μὲν ἦν πάλαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, οὔτι γε μὴν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν προῄρητο, τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, προκρίνων δὲ τῶν ἐν λαμπρότητι κινδύνων τὴν ἐν ἰδιώταις ἀσφάλειαν.

[m] *An excidit*] Have you forgotten the murder of Corbulo by Nero?

[n] *Ne Othonem*] Vitellius himself is a proof that an emperor may be made by the army, inasmuch as he was raised to the throne not by military service or military reputation, but by the unpopularity of Galba: Vitellius being himself so infamous, that he has made Otho, who was worsted, not by the talents of a general or the valor of an army, but by his own ridiculous precipitation, an object of regret and of praise.

[o] *Externi*] The Jewish war.

[p] *Fidissimi reges*] Agrippa, Sohemus, Antiochus: ch. 81.

[q] *Triumph. nomen*] Vespasian, as

juvenes,[r] capax jam imperii alter, et primis militiæ annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cujus filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit: nam, si vincimus, honorem, quem dederis, habebo; discrimen ac pericula ex æquo patiemur: immo, ut melius est, tu hos exercitus rege; mihi bellum et præliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi, quam victores[s] agunt: hos ira,[t] odium, ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit; illi, per fastidium et contumaciam, hebescunt. Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia[u] victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum: nec mihi major in tua vigilantia, parcimonia, sapientia, fiducia est, quam in Vitellii torpore, inscitia, sævitia. Sed et meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus; nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.'[v]

78. Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere, 'responsa vatum[x] et siderum motus' referre. Nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox, rerum dominus, Seleucum quemdam, mathematicum, rectorem et præscium palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omina: cupressus arbor in agris ejus, conspicua altitudine, repente prociderat;[y] ac postera die, eodem vestigio resurgens, procera et latior[z] virebat. Grande id prosperumque, consensu haruspicum; et summa claritudo juveni admodum Vespasiano promissa. Sed primo triumphalia et consulatus,[a] et Judaicæ victoriæ decus, implesse fidem

we learn from Suet. Vesp. 4. had received triumphal ornaments from Claudius, for his exploits in Britain.

[r] *Duo juvenes*] Titus and Domitian; of whom Titus is equal to the weight of empire, and in his first years of military service 'tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia [meruerat] summa industria, nec minore modestia, et fama,' Suet. Tit. 4.

[s] *Victi—victores*] The Othonians and Vitellians.

[t] *Hos ira*] *Hos*, the conquered; *illos*, the conquerors: for Tacitus uses *hos* for 'illos,' and *illi* for 'hi.'

[u] *Tumesc.*] So H. ii, 32. 'quoniam Galliæ tumeant.'

[v] *Desciverunt*] This is said with truth; for, when the state is in danger, hesitation in one's allegiance is a crime.

[x] *Responsa vatum*] Many prodigies and dreams are enumerated of the future dignity of Vespasian by Dio, lxvi, p. 744 and 745. See also Suet. Vesp. 5. 7.

[y] *Repente prociderat*] 'Sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus,' as we find from Suet. Vesp. 5. But according to Dio, lxvi, p. 744. ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἀνατραπεῖσα. So small is the consistency of prodigies.

[z] *Latior*] Lipsius and Huet properly prefer *lætior*, which is favored by Suet. Vespas. 5. 'Insequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit.

[a] *Triumph. et cons.*] Of his triumphal honors, see the former chapter.

ominis videbantur: ut hæc adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. Est Judæam inter Syriamque Carmelus,[b] ita vocant montem Deumque:[c] nec simulacrum Deo aut templum; (sic tradidere majores) ara tantum et reverentia.[d] Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos, inspectis idemtidem extis,[e] 'Quidquid est,'[f] inquit, 'Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum exstruere, seu prolatare agros, sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.' Has ambages et statim exceperat fama, et tunc aperiebat: nec quidquam magis in ore vulgi: crebriores apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur.

79. Haud dubia destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam,[g] Vespasianus Cæsaream:[h] illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ caput est. Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriæ cœptum,[i] festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Calendis Juliis[k] sacramento ejus legiones adegit: isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus,

He had been also consul, but elected only to supply a vacancy, and 'per duos novissimos anni menses,' Suet. Vespas. 4.

[b] *Carmelus*] To this day called *Mount Carmel.*

[c] *Montem Deumque*] When mankind deviated from the worship of the true God, mountains and groves became peculiar objects of religious service, through the majesty and horror inspired by the place: they thought also that high places 'propinquare cœlo, precesque mortalium a Deis nusquam propius audiri.' A. xiii, 57. Yet perhaps in this worship of Carmel there lies concealed the remembrance of the true God, who had made this mount famous for the wondrous exertion of his own divine power in the times of the prophet Elijah, 960 years before, as we learn from 1 Kings, xviii, 19. &c.

[d] *Ara—reverentia*] A similar superstition had prevailed among the ancient Germans: Mor. Germ. 9. and these were the first buildings of superstition. A more recent invention was that of making images of the gods, and of confining them within the walls of temples. These altars or huge stones are still found on some mountains.

[e] *Insp.—extis*] This Basilides then was one of the priests whose office was to inspect entrails: see A. xi, 15. It is strange that some writers should have boasted of this Basilides being a Carmelite, and a high-priest of the Carmelite order. This idea is refuted by Papebroch, who takes more pains about the matter than it is worth.

[f] *Quidquid est.*] This response is otherwise represented by Suet. Vespas. 5. 'Apud Judæam Carmeli Dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret, volveretque animo, quantumlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur.'

[g] *Antiochiam*] Now *Antakia.* See A. ii, 83.

[h] *Cæsaream*] Now *Kaisarié.*

[i] *Alexandriæ cœptum*] This is true, though it had been previously thought of by the Mœsian legions. See Suet. Vesp. 6.

[k] *Cal. Jul.*] The first of July.

quamvis Judaicus exercitus quinto Nonas Julias[l] apud ipsum jurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans, et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius: cuncta impetu militum acta, non parata concione, non conjunctis legionibus.

80. Dum quæritur tempus locusque, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox; dum animo spes, timor, ratio, casus obversantur; egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine, ut legatum salutaturi, Imperatorem salutavere. Tum ceteri accurrere; Cæsarem, et Augustum, et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare: mens a metu ad fortunam transierat. In ipso nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit; ut primum tantæ multitudinis[m] obfusam oculis caliginem disjecit, militariter locutus, læta omnia et adfluentia excepit: jamque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus, alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit.[n] Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur; satis decorus etiam Græca facundia, omniumque, quæ diceret atque ageret, arte quadam ostentator.[o] Nihil æque provinciam exercitumque accendit, quam quod adseverabat Mucianus, 'statuisse Vitellium,[p] ut Germanicas legiones in Syriam, ad militiam opulentam quietamque, transferret; contra Syriacis legionibus Germanica hyberna, cœlo ac laboribus dura, mutarentur.' Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti; et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur.

81. Ante Idus Julii[q] Syria omnis in eodem sacramento

[l] *V. Non. Jul.*] The third of July. Suetonius says with less probability, in Vespas. 6. 'Judaicus deinde exercitus quinto Idus Julii, [die undecima Julii,] apud ipsum juravit.'

[m] *Tantæ mult.*] *Mutationis* is a truer reading.

[n] *Adegit*] He had previously heard from Vespasian: Joseph. B. J. iv, 10. This writer gives a different account from Tacitus, whose narrative however appears more deserving of belief.

[o] *Ostentator*] Here Tacitus perhaps mitates Livy, xxvi, 19. 'Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juventa in ostentationem earum compositus.'

[p] *Statuisse Vitellium*] Such is the account given also by Suetonius, Vesp. 6. He adds besides: 'Plurimum cœptis contulerunt jactatum exemplar epistolæ, veræ sive falsæ, defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum, extrema obtestatione ultionem mandantis, et ut reipublicæ subveniret optantis.'

[q] *Idus Julii*] From this it is manifest that Suetonius is in error, who

fuit. Accessere cum regno Sohemus,[r] haud spernendis viribus; Antiochus,[s] vetustis opibus ingens et inservientium regum ditissimus: mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab Urbe Agrippa,[t] ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat: nec minore animo regina Berenice[u] partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata. Quidquid provinciarum alluitur mari, Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, juravere: sed inermes legati regebant, nondum additis[v] Cappadociæ legionibus. Consilium de summa rerum Beryti[x] habitum: illuc Mucianus, cum legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum, venit: et e Judaico exercitu lecta decora. Tantum simul peditum equitumque, et æmulantium inter se regum paratus, speciem fortunæ principalis effecerant.

82. Prima belli cura, agere delectus; revocare veteranos: destinantur validæ civitates exercendis armorum officinis:[y] apud Antiochenses, aurum argentumque signatur: eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros, suis quæque locis, festinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire, hortari, bonos laude, segnes exemplo, incitare sæpius quam coërcere; vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans. Multos præfecturis et procurationibus,[z] plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativum militi neque Mucianus prima concione, nisi modice, ostenderat; ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello ob-

says in a passage quoted above, that the Jewish army took the oath 'quinto Idus Julii:' for how should Syria come to the knowlege of it, and be 'in eodem sacramento ante Idus Julii?'

[r] *Sohemus*] King of Sophene. See A. xiii, 7.

[s] *Antiochus*] A. xii, 55. xiii, 7.

[t] *Agrippa*] Agrippa II. A. xiii, 7. At this time was struck a large brass coin of Agrippa: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕC—ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ CΕΒΑCΤΩ. Vespasian's head is wreathed with laurel. On the reverse is ΕΤ. ΙΔ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. A female is standing, with her right hand extended, and in her left she holds a cornucopia. This coin was struck 'anno decimoquarto regis Agrippæ;' the beginning of his reign being computed from the Julian period.

[u] *Berenice*] Sister of Agrippa II. and famous for her amours with Titus.

[v] *Nondum additis*] Vespasian, the restorer of the empire and of military discipline, 'Cappadociæ, propter assiduos barbarorum incursus, legiones postea addidit; consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano,' Suet. Vesp. 8.

[x] *Beryti*] Now *Berut* in Phœnicia.

[y] *Officinis*] In which arms were forged.

[z] *Præf. et proc.*] Whom he made prefects and procurators of provinces.

tulit, quam alii in pace;[a] egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem,[b] eoque exercitu meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque[c] legati, provisumque, ne, versis ad civile bellum legionibus, terga nudarentur. Titum instare Judææ, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Ægypti[d] placuit. Sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen, ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptæ epistolæ, præceptumque, 'ut prætorianos[e] Vitellio infensos, reciperandæ militiæ præmio invitarent.'

83. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat; gnarus, modicas vires sibi, et majora credi de absentibus. Sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum millia ingenti agmine sequebantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium[f] adigi jusserat; ambiguus consilii, num, omissa Mœsia,[g] Dyrrachium[h] pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare[i] clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque; quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni præsidiis firmarentur: atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italiæ protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque, et Lucaniæ Calabriæque littora infestis classibus peterentur.

84. Igitur navium, militum, armorum, paratu strepere provinciæ: sed nihil æque fatigabat, quam pecuniarum conquisitio; 'eos esse belli civilis nervos,' dictitans Mucianus, non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat: passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in prædam correpti: quæ gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere: ipso Vespasiano, inter initia imperii,

[a] *Alii in pace*] In the time of peace the donatives and 'congiaria' appear to have been usually £3. 1*s*. 6*d*. Now, as this donative was bestowed on nine legions, Vespasian gave about £130,000.

[b] *Mil. largitionem*] For the extravagance of Claudius and Nero in this particular, see in A. xii, 69.

[c] *Parthum Armeniumque*] Vologeses, the Parthian king; Tiridates, the Armenian.

[d] *Claustra Ægypti*] There were the barriers of sea and land, as was said in A. ii, 59.

[e] *Prætorianos*] Whom Vitellius had dismissed as adherents of Otho. See ch. 67 and 76. and Hist. iv, 46.

[f] *Byzantium*] Now *Constantinople*.

[g] *Mœsia*] Now *Bulgaria and part of Servia*.

[h] *Dyrr.*] Now *Durazzo*.

[i] *Mare*] *The Adriatic*, or *Gulf of Venice*.

ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante; donec indulgentia fortunæ et pravis magistris didicit aususque est.[k] Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvit, largus privatim, quod avidius de republica sumeret: ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti: rarissimus quisque[l] eamdem in reciperando licentiam habuerunt.

85. Adcelerata interim Vespasiani cœpta Illyrici exercitus studio, transgressi in partes. Tertia legio[m] exemplum ceteris Mœsiæ legionibus præbuit. Octava erat ac septima Claudiana, imbutæ favore Othonis, quamvis prælio non interfuissent: Aquileiam progressæ,[n] proturbatis, qui de Othone nuntiabant,[o] laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii præferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia[p] et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus, et ex metu consilium: 'posse imputari Vespasiano,[q] quæ apud Vitellium excusanda erant.' Ita tres Mœsicæ legiones per epistolas adliciebant Pannonicum exercitum, aut abnuenti vim parabant. In eo motu Aponius Saturninus,[r] Mœsiæ rector, pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tertium Julianum, septimæ legionis legatum, ob simultates, quibus causam partium prætendebat. Julianus, comperto discrimine, et gnaris locorum adscitis, per avia Mœsiæ, ultra montem Hæmum[s] profugit: nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens, et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans.

86. At in Pannonia tertiadecima legio ac septima Gal-

[k] *Aususque est*] This was a general fault attributed to Vespasian. Suetonius speaks out in Vesp. 16. 'Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniæ cupiditas: non enim contentus omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse; nova et gravia addidisse; auxisse tributa, provinciis nonnullis et duplicasse: negotiationes quoque, vel privato pudendas, propalam exercuit, coemendo quædam tantum, ut pluris postea distraheret.'

[l] *Rariss. quisque*] Many followed his example in advancing sums of money; but few possessed the same facility in recovering them, as they had not the power that Mucianus had.

[m] *Tertia legio*] Which had come from Syria into Mœsia, as we saw in ch. 74. But some read thus: *Transgressa in partes tertia legio, &c.*

[n] *Aquileiam progressæ*] ch. 46.

[o] *De Othone nuntiabant*] Who related that Otho 'victum, ac vim vitæ suæ attulisse,' Suet. Vesp. 6.

[p] *Pecunia*] The military chest. See A. i. 37.

[q] *Imputari Vespasiano*] That what would require pardon from Vitellius as criminal, would be regarded by Vespasian in the light of true allegiance.

[r] *Aponius Saturninus*] See H. i, 79. where mention is made also of Tertius Julianus.

[s] *Montem Hæmum*] Now *Mount Argentario.* A. iii, 38.

biana, dolorem iramque Bebriacensis pugnæ retinentes,[t] haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi præcipua Primi Antonii.[u] Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus,[v] inter alia belli mala, senatorium ordinem reciperaverat. Præpositus a Galba septimæ legioni, scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus, in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit: labantibus[x] Vitellii rebus, Vespasianum secutus, grande momentum addidit; strenuus manu, sermone promtus, serendæ in alios invidiæ artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Juncti inde Mœsici ac Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem traxere, quamquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Titus Ampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatiam tenebant, divites senes: sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens ætate, claris natalibus: prima juventa, quietis cupidine,[y] senatorium ordinem exuerat: idem pro Galba dux coloniæ suæ,[z] eaque opera procurationem adeptus,[a] susceptis Vespasiani partibus, acerrimam bello facem prætulit: non tam præmiis periculorum, quam ipsis periculis lætus: pro certis et olim partis, nova, ambigua, et ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam ægrum foret, adgrediuntur. Scriptæ in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos,[b] in Hispaniam ad primanos[c] epistolæ; quod utraque legio pro Othone, adversa Vitellio

[t] *Retinentes*] For both legions, see H. ii, 43. 67.

[u] *Primi Antonii*] Who was afterwards a most active leader in the Flavian interest. 'Tolosæ [*Toulouse*,] nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum,' Suet. Vitell. 18. This infamous man is highly praised by Martial.

[v] *Falsi damnatus*] A. xiv, 40.

[x] *Labantibus*] Suddenly rushing to ruin: for Ryck well distinguishes *labi* as meaning 'sensim cadere,' and *labare*, 'repente ruere.' So A. xiv, 12. 'labante Agrippina;' xvi, 33. 'Soranum labantem.'

[y] *Quietis cupidine*] Grotius and Huet would prefer *quæstus cup.*

[z] *Coloniæ suæ*] What this colony is, is uncertain. Its name had been mentioned by Tacitus in that part of the 16th book of the Annals which is lost: for there he related the commencement of the reign of Galba. This city however might have been Clunia: for the colony of Clunia is mentioned by Ptolemy, ii, 6. Besides, there was at Clunia a court of assize, which was usually a characteristic of a colony, as is observed by Florez, Medallas de Espana, p. 366. Cornelius Fuscus might have rendered the Emperor Galba much service, when he withdrew to this city. [Perhaps, however, Fuscus was rather a Dalmatian than a Spaniard, and his colony was Salona, the name of which is still retained by the ruins which yet remain of it.]

[a] *Procurationem adeptus*] Of Pannonia and Dalmatia.

[b] *Quartad.*] The 14th legion mentioned in H. ii, 43. 66.

[c] *Primanos*] The first legion of the 'classici,' as was stated ch. 67.

fuerat: sparguntur per Gallias literæ; momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

87. Dum hæc per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemtior in dies segniorque, ad omnes municipiorum villarumque amœnitates resistens,[d] gravi Urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta millia armatorum[e] sequebantur, licentia corrupta: calonum numerus amplior,[f] procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis: tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus, inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex Urbe senatores equitesque; quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes, ne, aliis proficiscentibus, ipsi remanerent. Adgregabantur e plebe, flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, scurræ, histriones, aurigæ, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniæ modo, aut municipia, congestu copiarum,[g] sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur.

88. Multæ et atroces inter se militum cædes, post seditionem Ticini cœptam[h] manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus paganos[i] certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad septimum ab Urbe lapidem:[k] singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos, ut gladiatoriam saginam, dividebat: et effusa plebes totis se

[d] *Resistens*] Stopping, remaining. So Phædr. i, 12. 'Ad fontem cervus cum bibisset, restitit, Et in liquore vidit effigiem suam.'

[e] *Sexag. m. armatorum*] Vitellius's army had been larger, as we saw in H. i, 61. 64. ii, 57. but many thousands had perished at the place called Castorum, and Bebriacum, H. ii, 24. 42. and there had been great slaughter in various revolts, H. ii, 68. 88. The numbers of the legions and the auxiliaries were reduced; dismissions from the service were granted promiscuously to all who applied for them; the Batavian cohorts were ordered back to Germany; the Gallic auxiliaries were dismissed to their respective states: H. ii, 69. It is clear then from Tacitus, how the army of Vitellius was diminished: Saville therefore unreasonably censures the historian, as Ryck has rightly remarked.

[f] *Calonum numerus amplior*] There was such a number of drudges and attendants, who served rather the ends of luxury than of active employment. See H. i, 49. That there were so many of these men in these luxurious times and under so luxurious an emperor, no one will wonder at, who has learned that when Cn. Manlius and Servilius Cæpio were overcome by the Cimbri, 'militum millia octoginta occisa [fuisse], calonum ac lixarum quadraginta.' Liv. Epit. lxvii.

[g] *Copiarum*] Provisions and supplies.

[h] *Ticini cœptam*] ch. 68.

[i] *Paganos*] See H. i, 53.

[k] *Sept.—lapidem*] Seven miles from the city, and therefore near what is now called *Prima Porta*.

castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites, vernacula, ut rebantur, urbanitate, quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis,[l] 'an accincti forent,' rogitantes. Non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliæ animus: inermem populum gladiis invasere: cæsus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur; deinde agnitus, et, vulgata cæde, temperatum ab innoxiis.[m] In Urbe tamen trepidatum, præcurrentibus passim militibus. Forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum in quo Galba jacuisset.[n] Nec minus sævum spectaculum erant ipsi, tergis ferarum[o] et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent, aut, ubi lubicro viæ vel occursu alicujus procidissent, ad jurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et tribuni præfectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

89. Ipse Vitellius, a Ponte Milvio,[p] insigni equo, paludatus[q] accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quominus, ut captam, Urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumta prætexta[r] et composito agmine, incessit. Quatuor legionum aquilæ per frontem, totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa, et post peditum ordines, eques: dein quatuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretæ. Ante aquilam[s] præfecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum, candida veste; ceteri juxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque[t] fulgentes: et mili-

[l] *Balteis*] Varro de L. L. lib. iv. 'Balteum, cingulum e corio, bullatum.' *A sword-belt.*

[m] *Ab innoxiis*] The farther effusion of the blood of the innocent was stopped.

[n] *Galba jac.*] The lake of Curtius: H. i, 41.

[o] *Tergis ferarum*] In the manner of the Germans. Germ. 17.

[p] *Ponte Milvio*] See A. xiii, 47.

[q] *Paludatus*] The paludamentum was a military vest.

[r] *Prætexta*] The ensign of peace. Suetonius describes otherwise the entrance of Vitellius, in Vitell. 11. 'Urbem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus, ferroque succinctus, inter signa atque vexilla, sagulatis comitibus, ac detectis commilitonum armis.' But that credit is to be given rather to Tacitus than to Suetonius, is clear from two coins of Vitellius in Oisel's Thesaurus Select. Numism. Tab. xcii, 4, 5. p. 454. In one is ADVENTVS AVGVSTI: Vitellius sits on horseback in his paludamentum: in the other is ADVENTVS AVGVSTI: Rome with a helmet on her head is receiving Vitellius in his toga. P. de Grainville without good reason defends Suetonius against Tacitus, from a coin in his possession, in which Vitellius was dressed in the paludamentum: Mémoires pour l'Hist. des Sciences et des beaux Arts, année 1703. Avril, p. 969.

[s] *Ante aquilam*] So Lipsius well: each before his eagle: otherwise *aquilas* would be a truer reading, for there were four.

[t] *Donisque*] Spears, trappings, col-

tum phaleræ torquesque splendebant: decora facies, et non Vitellio Principe [w] dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus, atque ibi matrem [v] complexus, Augustæ nomine honoravit.

90. Postera die, tamquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque, magnificam orationem de semetipso promsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus attollens; consciis flagitiorum ipsis, qui aderant, omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Vulgus tamen, vacuum curis, et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum, clamore et vocibus adstrepebat: abnuentique nomen Augusti,[x] expressere, ut adsumeret; tam frustra,[y] quam recusaverat.

91. Apud civitatem, cuncta interpretantem, funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod, maximum pontificatum [z] adeptus, Vitellius de cærimoniis publicis quintodecimo Calendas Augusti edixisset,[a] antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus:[b] adeo omnis humani divinique juris expers, pari libertorum amicorumque socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum [c] cum

lars, bracelets, and crowns were military presents and rewards of valor.

[w] *Non Vitellio Principe*] Not Vitellius, but some better prince. *Et* for 'sed,' as often in other places.

[v] *Matrem*] Sextilia: ch. 67.

[x] *Nomen Augusti*] ch. 62.

[y] *Tam frustra*] Huet well explains it: 'Causam non habuit cur recusaret; nec deinde cur recusatum adsumeret.'

[z] *Max. pontif.*] It was only on the 18th of July that Vitellius was made pontifex maximus. Hence Suet. Vitell. 11. 'Omni divino humanoque jure neglecto, Alliensi die pontificatum maximum cepit.' Before he was pontifex, but not pontifex maximus. On this subject is a remarkable coin of Vitellius in the Numismatic Catalogue of the Museum of the Turonensis Soc. Jesu, p. 59. A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. PONT. The head of Vitellius. On the reverse, VICTORIA AVG.

[a] *Edix.*] What was forbidden by the Roman superstition. Liv. vi, 1. 'De diebus religiosis agitari cœptum, diemque a. d. xv. Calendas Sextiles duplici clade insignem, (quo die ad Cremeram Fabii cæsi; quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio Urbis fœde pugnatum) a posteriore clade Alliensem appellarunt, insignemque rei nulli publice privatimque agendæ fecerunt.'

[b] *Cladibus*] At Cremera, a river of Tuscany, now called *the Varca*, the 300 Fabii were killed by the Veians, A.U.C. 277. At Allia the Romans were vanquished by the Gauls, A.U.C. 364. 'Alliensi clade nulla fœdior: itaque hunc diem fastis Roma damnavit.' Florus i, 13. and Cic. Ep. ad Att. ix, 5. 'Majores nostri funestiorem diem esse voluerunt Alliensis pugnæ quam Urbis captæ, quod hoc malum ex illo: itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies, alter in vulgus ignotus.' In the Tabula Antiatina, edited and illustrated by Vulpius, XV. K. AVG. DIES ALL. ATR. i. e. 'quintodecimo Kalendas Augusti, dies Alliensis atra.' Allia flows through the Sabine country. Many think it is *the Rio di Mosso:* but Venuti, in a learned dissertation prefixed to a magnificent edition of Virgil, lately published by P. Anton. Ambrogi, S. J. thinks it is *the Torrente di Catino.*

[c] *Comitia consulum*] In A. i, 81.

candidatis civiliter celebrans, omnem infimæ plebis rumorem, in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor, adfectavit: quæ, grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur; memoria vitæ prioris,[d] indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur: ac forte Priscus Helvidius,[e] prætor designatus, contra studium ejus censuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra, quam 'tribunos plebis in auxilium spretæ potestatis' advocavit: mox, mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem ejus iracundiam verebantur, 'nihil novi accidisse,' respondit, 'quod duo senatores in republica dissentirent: solitum se etiam Thraseæ contradicere.' Inrisere plerique impudentiam æmulationis: aliis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem ex præpotentibus, sed Thraseam,[f] ad exemplar veræ gloriæ legisset.

92. Præposuerat prætorianis P. Sabinum, a præfectura cohortis;[g] Julium Priscum, tum centurionem: Priscus, Valentis, Sabinus Cæcinæ gratia pollebant. Inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis: munia imperii Cæcina ac Valens obibant; olim anxii odiis, quæ, bello et castris male dissimulata, pravitas amicorum, et fœcunda gignendis inimicitiis civitas auxerat, dum ambitu, comitatu, et immensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque; variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec umquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos, hortos, opesque imperii: cum flebilis et

we saw the consular comitia, in which the consuls were created: but Vitellius attended the comitia like any other citizen with the candidates for the consulate: he attempted to conciliate the popular favor by being present in the theatre as a common spectator, and in the circus as a patron. This conduct would have gained him great applause, had not the memory of his former life been vile and disgraceful. Of these comitia Suetonius writes, Vitell. 11. 'Comitia in decem annos ordinavit, seque perpetuum consulem.' With how much more condescension Trajan attended the comitia of the consuls, is shown by Pliny, Paneg. 63. &c.

[d] *Vitæ prioris*] Which he had passed among stage-players and carriage-drivers, for the sake of pleasing Caius and Nero. See Suet. Vitell. 4. 12.

[e] *Pr. Helvidius*] A great man, often spoken of in A. xii. xiii. and xvi. as well as hereafter.

[f] *Thraseam*] Thrasea Pætus. A. xiv, 12. xvi, 21. &c.

[g] *A præf. cohortis*] Who had commanded only a prætorian cohort. This P. Sabinus is a different person from Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, and often mentioned before.

egens nobilium turba,[h] quos ipsos liberosque patriæ Galba reddiderat, nulla Principis misericordia juvarentur. Gratum primoribus civitatis, etiam plebes adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio jura libertorum[i] concessisset: quamquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus;[k] et quidam in domum Cæsaris transgressi, atque ipsis dominis potentiores.[l]

93. Sed miles, plenis castris, et, redundante multitudine, in porticibus aut delubris et Urbe tota vagus, non principia[m] noscere, non servare vigilias, neque labore firmari: per inlecebras Urbis et inhonesta dictu, corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. Postremo, ne salutis quidem cura, infamibus Vaticani locis[n] magna pars tetendit; unde crebræ in vulgus mortes: et, adjacente Tiberi, Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et æstus impatientia labefecit. Insuper confusus, pravitate vel ambitu, ordo militiæ. Sedecim prætoriæ,[o] quatuor urbanæ cohortes scribebantur, queis singula millia inessent. Plus in eo delectu Valens audebat, tamquam ipsum Cæcinam periculo exemisset: sane ad-

[h] *Nobilium turba*] Whom Nero had ruined and banished, and Galba had recalled.

[i] *Jura libertorum*] These rights lay in being supplied with provisions and a share in the property of the freedmen. Ulpian. Tit. 29. de bonis libertorum, n. 1. 'Civis Romani liberti hæreditatem lex duodecim Tabularum patrono defert, si intestato sine suo hærede libertus decesserit.' We have the prætor's edict in the same place: 'Ex edicto prætoris, si testamento facto libertus moriatur, aut ut nihil, aut minus quam partem dimidiam bonorum patrono relinquat, contra tabulas testamenti, partis dimidiæ bonorum possessio illi datur, nisi libertus aliquem ex naturalibus liberis successorem sibi relinquat; sive intestato decedat, et uxorem forte in manum, vel adoptivum filium relinquat, æque partis mediæ bonorum possessio contra suos hæredes patrono datur.' Many other rights of patrons may be seen in Digest. lib. 38. tit. i. ii. and v.

[k] *Ambitiosos sinus*] They concealed their money in obscure places, or deposited it in the custody of the great. Of the servility of freedmen, notice has been taken in the Annals.

[l] *Dominis potentiores*] And therefore it was useless or dangerous for masters to think of exercising their right.

[m] *Principia*] Where were the eagles, the standards, and the military forum. See A. i, 61.

[n] *Infam.—locis*] The lands round the Vatican were at this time infested with stagnant water, serpents, and bad air. Now however they are inhabited, and in this quarter is St. Peter's Church. Some still complain of the unwholesome air in these parts, and hence the popes seldom inhabit the Vatican, but usually the Quirinal Palace, now *Monte Cavallo.*

[o] *Sedec. præt.*] Their number therefore was increased. Before this there had been only nine prætorian cohorts, and three city cohorts: A. iv, 5.

ventu ejus partes convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris[p] rumorem prospero prælio[q] verterat: omnisque inferioris Germaniæ miles Valentem adsectabatur; unde primum creditur Cæcinæ fides fluitasse.

94. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret: sibi quisque militiam sumsere; quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanæ militiæ adscribebatur: rursus bonis, remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus, permissum: nec deerant, qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem cœli incusantes. Robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta: convulsum castrorum decus, viginti millibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis. Concionante Vitellio,[r] postulantur 'ad supplicium Asiaticus et Flavius et Rufinus, duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent.'[s] Nec coercebat ejusmodi voces Vitellius; super insitam animo ignaviam, conscius, sibi instare donativum et deesse pecuniam, omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti Principum,[t] 'conferre pro numero mancipiorum,' ut tributum, jussi. Ipse, sola perdendi cura, stabula aurigis exstruere: circum[u] gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere: tamquam in summa abundantia, pecuniæ illudere.

95. Quin et natalem Vitellii diem[v] Cæcina ac Valens, editis tota Urbe vicatim[x] gladiatoribus, celebravere; ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. Lætum fœdissimo cuique, apud bonos invidiæ fuit, quod, exstructis in campo Martio aris, inferias Neroni fecisset:[y] cæsæ publice victimæ crematæque: facem Augustales[z] subdidere; quod sa-

p *Lenti itineris*] See H. ii, 30.

q *Prospero prælio*] H. ii, 31. &c.

r *Concionante Vitellio*] Haranguing the soldiers.

s *Pro Vindice bell.*] For abandoning Nero and siding with Vindex.

t *Principum*] Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius.

u *Circum*] The Circus Maximus.

v *Nat. Vitellii diem*] Vitellius's birth-day is uncertain: for according to Suet. Vitell. 3. 'natus est octavo Kalendas Octobris; vel, ut quidam, septimo Idus Septembris, Druso Cæsare, Norbano Flacco consulibus,' A.U.C. 768. This festivity lasted two days, during which many wild beasts and human beings were slain: Dio, lxv, p. 735.

x *Vicatim*] According to Victor, de Regionibus Urbis, the *vici* at Rome were 424.

y *Neroni fecisset*] Suet. Vitell. 11. 'Ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendæ reipublicæ eligeret, medio Martio campo, adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit; ac solemni convivio citharœdum placentem palam admonuit, ut et aliquid de Domitio diceret: inchoantique Neroniana cantica, primus exsultans etiam plausit.' Suidas, in Βιτέλλιος, states the same.

z *Augustales*] Each of these placed a torch by his altar. For the Augustales and their priesthood, see A. i, 54. ii, 83.

cerdotium, ut Romulus Tatio regi,[a] ita Cæsar Tiberius Juliæ genti sacravit. Nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii Asiaticus,[b] Polycletos, Patrobios, et vetera odiorum nomina æquabat. Nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit: unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis[c] et sumtu ganeaque satiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines. Ipse abunde ratus, si præsentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans, novies millies sestertium[d] paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur. Magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa, inter Vinios, Fabios,[e] Icelos, Asiaticos, varia et pudenda sorte agebat; donec successere Mucianus et Marcellus,[f] et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

96. Prima Vitellio 'tertiæ legionis[g] defectio' nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino[h] epistolis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur: sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur: 'unius legionis eam seditionem: ceteris exercitibus constare fidem.' In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, prætorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, 'a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullum civilis belli metum,' adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine, et vagis per Urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coercerent: id præcipuum alimentum famæ erat.

97. Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit; segniter, et necessitatem dissimulans: perinde legati provinciæque cunctabantur; Hordeonius Flaccus,[i] suspectis jam Batavis, anxius proprio bello;[k] Vettius Bolanus,[l] numquam satis quieta Britannia: et uterque ambigui. Neque ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi

[a] *Tatio regi*] See A. i, 54.

[b] *Asiaticus*] ch. 57. The Polycleti, the Patrobii, the Neroniani, are often spoken of as wealthy freedmen.

[c] *Prodigis epulis*] See ch. 62.

[d] *Novies millies sestertium*] Angl. £7,500,000.

[e] *Vinios, Fabios*] Vinius the consul, and Icelus the freedman were persons of great influence under Galba: Fabius Valens the general and consul, and Asiaticus the freedman, were so under Vitellius.

[f] *Marcellus*] Marcellus Eprius, a man bent on mischief. See A. xvi, 26. He often appears in the sequel.

[g] *Tertiæ legionis*] ch. 85.

[h] *Aponio Saturnino*] Governor of Mœsia: ibid.

[i] *Hord. Flaccus*] Governor of Upper Germany, and invested with the care of the bank of the Rhine. H. i, 9. ii, 57.

[k] *Proprio bello*] H. iv, 18.

[l] *Vettius Bolanus*] He was governor of Britain. H. ii, 65.

consulari:[m] trium legionum[n] legati, pares jure, et, prosperis Vitellii rebus, certaturi ad obsequium, adversam ejus fortunam ex æquo detrectabant. In Africa legio cohortesque, delectæ a Clodio Macro,[o] mox a Galba dimissæ, rursus jussu Vitellii militiam cepere: simul cetera juventus dabat impigre nomina: quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum[p] Vitellius, famosum invisumque[q] Vespasianus egerat: perinde socii de imperio utriusque conjectabant; sed experimentum contra fuit.

98. Ac primo Valerius Festus, legatus,[r] studia provincialium cum fide juvit: mox nutabat, palam epistolis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens, et hæc illave defensurus, prout invaluissent. Deprehensi cum literis edictisque Vespasiani, per Rhætiam[s] et Gallias, militum et centurionum quidam, ad Vitellium missi, necantur: plures fefellere, fide amicorum, aut suomet astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur: Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia Vitellii; deinde Pannonicæ Alpes,[t] præsidiis insessæ, nuntios retinebant: mare quoque Etesiarum flatu[u] in Orientem navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat.

99. Tandem, inruptione hostium, atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus, Cæcinam et Valentem expediri ad bellum jubet: præmissus Cæcina: Valentem, e gravi corporis morbo tum primum adsurgentem, infirmitas tardabat. Longe alia proficiscentis ex Urbe Germanici exercitus species: non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis: lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi: impatiens solis, pulveris,

[m] *Consulari*] Cluvius Rufus was absent; during which time he retained his government of Spain: ch. 65.

[n] *Trium legionum*] By which the provinces of Spain were held in subjection. These three legions were at this time the sixth, the tenth, and the first additional legion, as appears from Hist. ii, 58. 67. iii, 44.

[o] *Clodio Macro*] H. i, 7. 11.

[p] *Procons.*] Suet. Vitell. 5. 'In provincia singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato, cum succedenti fratri legatus substitisset.'

[q] *Famosum invisumque*] Suetonius gives a different account, Vespas. 4. 'Sortitus Africam, integerrime, nec sine magna dignatione administravit; nisi quod Adrumeti, seditione quadam, rapa in eum jacta sunt. Rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui prope labefactata jam fide, omnia prædia fratri obligarit; necessarioque ad mangonicos quæstus sustinendæ dignitatis causa descenderit.' To reconcile Tacitus and Suetonius, Huet remarks that the proconsulate of Vespasian was disliked on account of his avarice, but was in other respects praiseworthy.

[r] *Legatus*] Of the legion in Africa.

[s] *Rhætiam*] Now *the country of the Grisons*, &c.

[t] *Pann. Alpes*] Called also 'Juliæ.' Now *Alpi Giuli*, between Carinthia and Carniola.

[u] *Etesiarum flatu*] A. vi, 33.

tempestatum; quantumque hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias promtior. Accedebat huc Cæcinæ ambitio vetus, torpor recens, nimia fortunæ indulgentia soluti in luxum: seu perfidiam meditato infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes erat. Credidere plerique, Flavii Sabini[v] consiliis concussam Cæcinæ mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo,[x] 'rata apud Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis.' Simul odiorum invidiæque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur,[y] 'ut impar apud Vitellium, gratiam viresque apud novum Principem pararet.'

100. Cæcina complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus, partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam præmisit: mox vexillarii quartædecimæ[z] et sextædecimæ legionum; dein quinta et duoetvicesima secutæ: postremo agmine unaetvicesima Rapax et prima Italica incessere, cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum[a] et electis auxiliis. Profecto Cæcina, scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, 'ut in itinere opperiretur; sic sibi cum Cæcina convenisse;' qui præsens, eoque validior, 'immutatum id consilium' finxit, 'ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur.' Ita 'adcelerare' legiones 'Cremonam,' pars 'Hostiliam[b] petere' jussæ: ipse Ravennam devertit, prætexto classem adloquendi: mox Patavii[c] secretum componendæ proditionis quæsitum: namque Lucilius Bassus,[d] post præfecturam alæ, Ravennati simul ac Misenensi[e] classibus a Vitellio præpositus, quod non statim præfecturam prætorii adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscebatur: nec sciri potest, traxeritne Cæcinam, an (quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes sint) eadem illos pravitas impulerit.

101. Scriptores temporum, qui potiente rerum Flavia domo,[f] monumenta hujusce belli composuerunt, 'curam pacis et amorem reipublicæ,' corruptas in adulationem,

[v] *Flavii Sabini*] Vespasian's brother.

[x] *Rubrio Gallo*] H. ii, 51.

[y] *Admoneb.*] For this jealousy, see ch. 30.

[z] *Vexillarii quartædecimæ*] *Quartædecimæ* is wrong. More correctly *quartæ*.

[a] *Legionum*] Mentioned by name in H. iii, 22. 'Cum vexillis nonæ, secundæque, et vicesimæ, Britannicarum legionum.' The fourteenth legion, as being adverse to Vitellius, was kept in Britain.

[b] *Hostiliam*] Now *Ostiglia*, *in the duchy of Mantua.*

[c] *Patavii*] Now *Padua*.

[d] *Lucilius Bassus*] See Gruter, p. 573, n. 1.

[e] *Ravennati—Misenensi*] See A. iv, 5.

[f] *Flavia domo*] Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

'causas,' tradidere. Nobis, super insitam levitatem, et, prodito Galba, vilem mox fidem, æmulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteiretur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium videtur. Cæcina, legiones adsecutus, centurionum militumque animos, obstinatos pro Vitellio, variis artibus subruebat: Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe, ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiæ.[g]

[g] *Pro Othone militiæ*] ch. 14 and 28.

END OF VOL. II.

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